

*Sam<sup>r</sup> Nickles, M.D.  
1<sup>st</sup> Mo. 17<sup>th</sup> 1794.  
George Nichle 1880*

4  
A SHORT  
A C C O U N T  
O F T H E

M A L I G N A N T F E V E R,

L A T E L Y P R E V A L E N T I N

P H I L A D E L P H I A:

W I T H A S T A T E M E N T O F T H E

P R O C E E D I N G S

T H A T T O O K P L A C E O N T H E S U B J E C T I N D I F F E R E N T  
P A R T S O F T H E

U N I T E D S T A T E S.

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T O W H I C H A R E A D D E D,

A C C O U N T S

O F T H E

Plague in London and Marseilles ;

A N D A L I S T O F T H E D E A D,

From August 1, to the middle of December, 1793.

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B Y M A T H E W C A R E Y.

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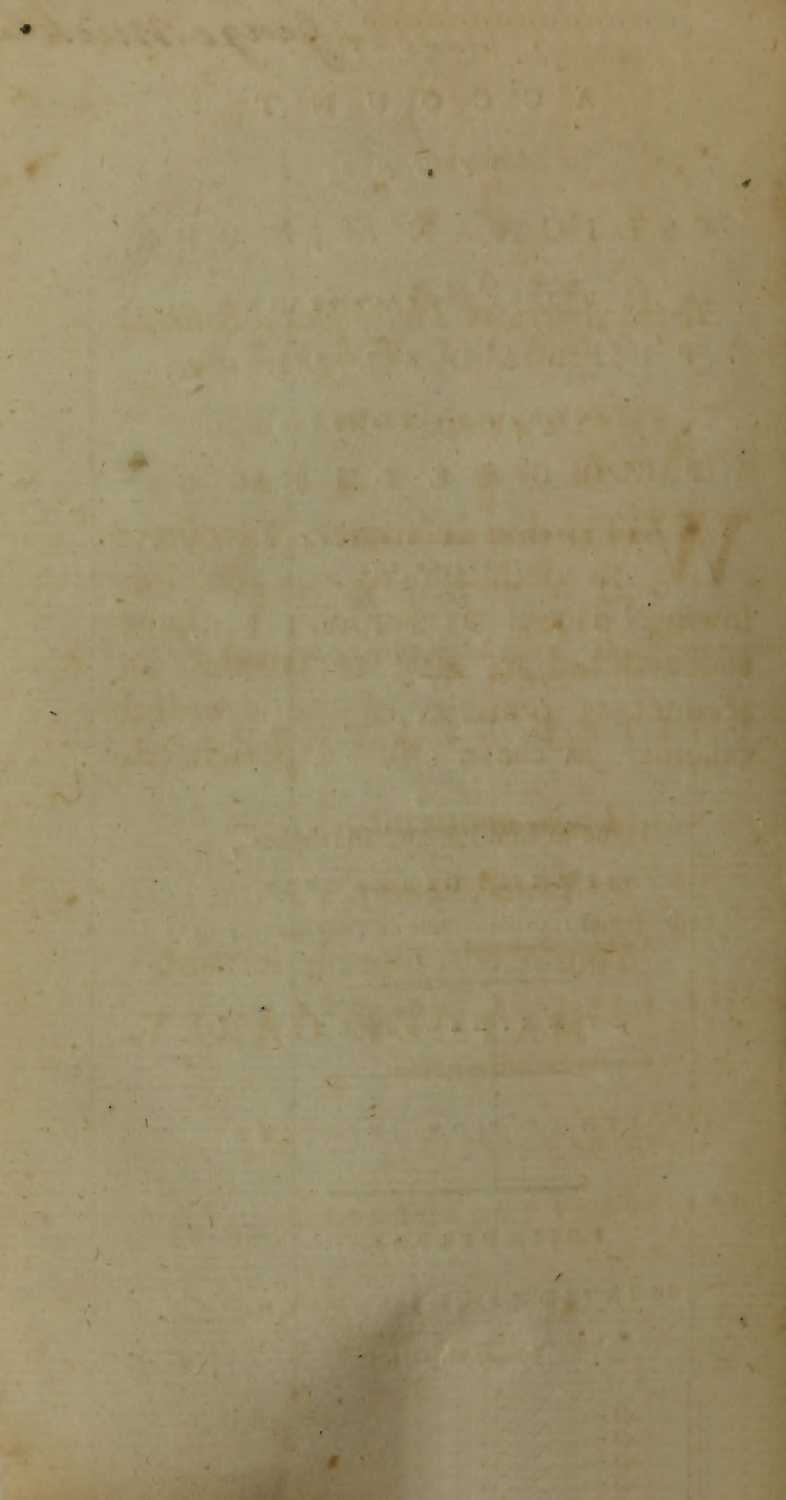
F O U R T H E D I T I O N, I M P R O V E D.

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P H I L A D E L P H I A:

P R I N T E D B Y T H E A U T H O R.

January 16, 1794.



*To the American Philosophical Society.*

GENTLEMEN,

WITH due deference, I presume to dedicate to you the following pages, in which I have endeavoured to give as faithful an account as possible, of the dreadful calamity we have just experienced.

I am, gentlemen,

With esteem,

Your obedt. humble servant,

MATHEW CAREY.

NUMBER XLVII.

District of Pennsylvania, to wit—

(L. S.) **B**E it remembered, that on the thirteenth day of November, in the eighteenth year of the independence of the united states of America, Mathew Carey, of the said district, hath deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit :

“ A short account of the malignant fever lately  
“ prevalent in Philadelphia, with a statement of the  
“ proceedings that took place on the subject in different  
“ parts of the united states. By Mathew Carey.”  
In conformity to the act of the congress of the united states, intituled, “ An act for the encouragement of  
“ learning ; by securing the copies of maps, charts,  
“ and books, to the authors and proprietors of such  
“ copies, during the times therein mentioned.”

SAMUEL CALDWELL, Clerk of  
the district of Pennsylvania.



# P R E F A C E

TO THE

F I R S T E D I T I O N.

*Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1793.*

**T**HE favourable reception given to the imperfect account of the fever which I lately published, and the particular desire of some of my friends, have induced me to undertake a more satisfactory history of it, in order to collect together, while facts are recent, as many of the most interesting occurrences as I could, for the information of the public.

I have not attempted any embellishment or ornament of style; but have merely aimed at telling plain facts in plain language. I have taken every precaution to arrive at the truth; and hope the errors in the account, will not be found numerous.

For the desultory plan of some part of the pamphlet, I have to offer the following apology; many of the circumstances and reflexions towards the conclusion, which would have come with more propriety in the beginning, did not occur, until some of the first half sheets were not only written, but printed. I had no choice, therefore, but either to omit them, or place them somewhat out of order. I preferred the latter.

Most of the facts mentioned have fallen under my own observation. Those of a different description I have been assiduous to collect, from every person of credibility, possessed of information.

Desirous of having this account correct and complete, I have printed off but a small number of copies of the present edition: and shall esteem myself most particularly obliged to any person who will be so

kind to point out errors, to be corrected in, or suggest facts, to be added to, a new edition, which I propose to put to press very soon, and which will, I hope, be found more ample than the present one.

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

*November 23, 1793.*

**W**HEN I published the first edition of this pamphlet, it was my intention to have greatly enlarged it for a second one, and to have new modelled it, so as to preserve a connexion between its several parts, in which it is extremely deficient. But its speedy sale, and the demand for more copies, renders it impossible for me to do more, at present, than make such corrections as the kindness of a few friends has led them to point out.

In giving an account of the proceedings that took place on the subject of the disorder, throughout the union, I have suppressed many a harsh comment, which was forcing itself on me; from the reflexion, that in similar circumstances we might perhaps have been equally severe. And to perpetuate animosities is performing a very unfriendly office. They are easily generated; but their extinction is a work of time and difficulty. Let us, therefore, (especially when we “hold the mirror up to nature” at home,) not only forgive, but even forget, if possible, all the unpleasant treatment our citizens have experienced.

I have heard more than one person object to the account of the shocking circumstances that occurred in Philadelphia, as portraying the manners of the people in an unfavourable light. If that be the case, the fault is not mine. I am conscious I have not exaggerated the matter. But I do not conceive it can have that effect; for it would be as unjust and injudicious to draw the character of Philadelphia from the proceedings of a period of horror and affright, when all the “mild charities of social life” were suppressed by regard for

self, as to stamp eternal infamy on a nation for the atrocities perpetrated in times of civil broils, when all the "angry passions" are roused into dreadful and ferocious activity.

## PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

*November 30, 1793.*

**T**HIS pamphlet comes before the public a third time, and, in some measure, in a new form. I have reduced it to as methodical a state, as in my power, but not as much so as I could wish, nor, I fear, as the reader may expect. To one merit only do I lay claim in the compilation; that is, of having meant well. If, on a fair perusal, the candid allow me that, I am satisfied to have the execution censured with all the severity of which criticism is capable. However, I beg leave to inform the reader, that this day ends one month, since the writing of the pamphlet commenced. I know that the shortness of the time employed is no justification of a bad performance; but it may somewhat extenuate the defects of a middling one.

I have found several objections made to parts of it. Most of them I have removed. Some few, resting on the sentiments of individuals, directly contrary to my own judgment, I have passed over. For until my reason is convinced, I cannot change my opinion for that of any person whatever.

To those gentlemen who have been so kind to furnish me with facts to enlarge and improve the work, I profess myself under great obligations. I request them to continue their kindness; as, if public favour should give this trifle a fourth edition, I shall add all that may be communicated in the interim; otherwise I shall probably publish separately what may be worthy of the public eye.



## PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

*Jan. 16, 1794.*

**T**HE uncommon degree of favour which this pamphlet has experienced, has impressed me with lively sentiments of gratitude. As the only proper return in my power, I have, in each successive edition, used every endeavour to improve it.

In the number of victims to the late calamity, there were many strangers,—among whom were probably some, by whose death, estates have fallen to heirs at a distance. It being, therefore, of great importance to extend and improve the list of the dead, and to remedy the extreme inaccuracy of the sextons' returns, I employed suitable persons to go thro' the city and liberties, and make enquiry at every house, without exception, for the names and occupations of the dead. The disobliging temper of some, and the fears of others, that an improper use would be made of the information they could have given, have in various instances defeated my purpose. Imperfect as the list still remains, I hope it will be found useful in removing anxious doubts, and conveying to persons in different countries, the melancholy information of the decease of relatives, which, but for such a channel of communication, would in many cases be difficult, if not impossible to acquire for years to come.

To the present edition, I have added a short account of the plague at London, and at Marseilles. On a comparison, the reader will be struck with astonishment, at the extraordinary similarity between many of the leading and most important circumstances that occurred in those two places, and the events of September and October, 1793, in Philadelphia.



## A SHORT ACCOUNT, &c.

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*Chap. I. State of Philadelphia previous to the appearance of the malignant fever—with a few observations on some of the probable consequences of that calamity.*

**B**EFORE I enter on the consideration of this disorder, it may not be improper to offer a few introductory remarks on the situation of Philadelphia previous to its commencement, which will reflect light on some of the circumstances mentioned in the course of the narrative.

The manufactures, trade, and commerce of this city had, for a considerable time, been improving and extending with great rapidity. From the period of the adoption of the federal government, at which time America was at the lowest ebb of distress, her situation had progressively become more and more prosperous. Confidence, formerly banished, was universally restored. Property of every kind, rose to, and in some instances beyond its real value: and a few revolving years exhibited the interesting spectacle of a young country, with a new form of government, emerging from a state which approached very near to anarchy, and acquiring all the stability and nerve of the best-toned and oldest nations.

In this prosperity, which revived the almost-extinguished hopes of four millions of people, Philadelphia participated in an eminent degree. Numbers of new houses, in almost every street, built in a very neat, elegant stile, adorned, at the same time that they greatly enlarged, the city. Its population was extending fast. House rent had risen to an extravagant height; it was in many cases double, and in some

treble what it had been a year or two before ; and, as is generally the case, when a city is advancing in prosperity, it far exceeded the real increase of trade. The number of applicants for houses, exceeding the number of houses to be let, one bid over another ; and affairs were in such a situation, that many people, though they had a tolerable run of business, could hardly do more than clear their rents, and were, literally, toiling for their landlords alone\*. Luxury, the usual, and perhaps inevitable concomitant of prosperity, was gaining ground in a manner very alarming to those who considered how far the virtue, the liberty, and the happiness of a nation depend on its temperance and sober manners.—Many of our citizens had been, for some time, in the imprudent habit of regulating their expenses by prospects formed in sanguine hours, when every probability was caught at as a certainty, not by their actual profits, or income. The number of coaches, coachees, chairs, &c. lately set up by men in the middle rank of life, is hardly credible. Not to enter into a minute detail, let it suffice to remark, that extravagance, in various forms, was gradually eradicating the plain and wholesome habits of the city. And although it were presumption to attempt to scan the decrees of heaven, yet few, I believe, will pretend to deny, that something was wanting to humble the pride of a city, which was running on in full career, to the goal of prodigality and dissipation.

However, from November 1792, to the end of last June, the difficulties of Philadelphia were extreme. The establishment of the bank of Pennsylvania, in embryo for the most part of that time, had arrested in the two other banks such a quantity of the circulating specie, as embarrassed almost every kind of business ; to this was added the distress arising from the very numerous failures in England, which had

\* The distress arising from this source, was perhaps the only exception to the general observation of the flourishing situation of Philadelphia.

extremely harrassed several of our capital merchants. During this period, many men experienced as great difficulties as were ever known in this city\*. But the commencement, in July, of the operations of the bank of Pennsylvania, conducted on the most generous and enlarged principles, placed business on its former favourable footing. Every man looked forward to this fall as likely to produce a vast extension of trade. But how fleeting are all human views! how uncertain all plans founded on earthly appearances! All these flattering prospects vanished "like the baseless fabric of a vision."

In July, arrived the unfortunate fugitives from Cape François. And on this occasion, the liberality of Philadelphia was displayed in a most respectable point of light. Nearly 12,000 dollars were in a few days collected for their relief. Little, alas! did many of the contributors, then in easy circumstances, imagine, that a few weeks would leave their wives and children dependent on public charity, as has since unfortunately happened. An awful instance of the rapid and warning vicissitudes of affairs on this transitory stage.

About this time, this destroying scourge, the malignant fever, crept in among us, and nipped in the bud the fairest blossoms that imagination could form. And oh! what a dreadful contrast has since taken place! Many women, then in the lap of ease and contentment, are bereft of beloved husbands, and left with numerous families of children to maintain, unqualified for the arduous task—many orphans are destitute of parents to foster and protect them—many entire families are swept away, without leaving "a trace behind"—many of our first commercial houses are totally dissolved, by the death of the parties, and

\* It is with great pleasure, I embrace this opportunity of declaring, that the very liberal conduct of the bank of the united States, at this trying season, was the means of saving many a deserving and industrious man from ruin. No similar institution was ever conducted on a more generous, and at the same time prudent plan, than this bank adopted at the time here mentioned.



are necessarily left in so deranged a state, by the losses and distresses which must take place, in such a situation. The protests of notes for a week, past, have exceeded all former examples; a great proportion of the merchants and traders have left the city, and been totally unable, from the suspension of business, and diversion of all their expected resources, to make any provision for payment, most of their notes have been protested, as they became due\*.

For these prefatory observations I hope I shall be pardoned. I now proceed to the melancholy subject I have undertaken. May I be enabled to do it justice; and lay before the reader a complete and correct account of the most awful visitation that ever occurred in America. At first view, it would appear that Philadelphia alone felt the scourge; but its effects have spread in almost every direction through a great portion of the union. Many parts of Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, exclusive of the back settlements of Pennsylvania, drew their supplies, if not wholly, at least principally, from Philadelphia, which was of course the mart whither they sent their produce. Cut off from this quarter, their merchants have had to seek out other markets, which being unprepared for such an increased demand, their supplies have been imperfect; and, owing to the briskness of the sales, the prices have been, naturally enough, very considerably enhanced. Besides, they went to places in which their credit was not established—and had in most cases to advance cash. And many country dealers have had no opportunity of sending their produce to market, which has consequently remained unsold. Business, therefore, has languished in many parts of the union; and it is

\* The bank of the united states, on the 15th of October, passed a resolve, empowering the cashier to renew all discounted notes, when the same drawers and indorsers were offered, and declaring that no notes should be protested, when the indorsers bound themselves in writing, to be accountable in the same manner as in cases of protest.



probable, that, considering the matter merely in a commercial point of light, the shock caused by the fever, has been felt to the southern extremity of the united states.

CHAP. II.—*Symptoms—a slight sketch of the mode of treatment.*

“THE symptoms which characterised the first stage of the fever, were, in the greatest number of cases, after a chilly fit of some duration, a quick, tense pulse—hot skin—pain in the head, back, and limbs—flushed countenance—inflamed eye—moist tongue—oppression and sense of foreboding at the stomach, especially upon pressure—frequent sick qualms, and retchings to vomit, without discharging any thing, except the contents last taken into the stomach—costiveness, &c. And when stools were procured, the first generally showed a defect of bile, or an obstruction to its entrance into the intestines. But brisk purges generally altered this appearance.

“These symptoms generally continued with more or less violence from one to three, four, or even five days; and then gradually abating, left the patient free from every complaint, except general debility. On the febrile symptoms suddenly subsiding, they were immediately succeeded by a yellow tinge in the opaque cornea, or whites of the eyes—an increased oppression at the præcordia—a constant puking of every thing taken into the stomach, with much straining, accompanied with a hoarse hollow noise.

“If these symptoms were not soon relieved, a vomiting of matter, resembling coffee grounds in colour and consistence, commonly called the black vomit, sometimes accompanied with, or succeeded by hæmorrhages from the nose, fauces, gums, and other parts of the body—a yellowish purple colour, and putrescent appearance of the whole body, hiccup, agitations, deep and distressed sighing, comatose delirium, and finally death. When the disease proved fatal, it was generally between the fifth and eighth days.

“ This was the most usual progress of this formidable disease, through its several stages. There were, however, very considerable variations in the symptoms, as well as in the duration of its different stages, according to the constitution and temperament of the patient, the state of the weather, the manner of treatment, &c.

“ In some cases, signs of putrescency appeared at the beginning, or before the end of the third day. In these, the black vomiting, which was generally a mortal symptom, and universal yellowness, appeared early. In these cases, also, a low delirium, and great prostration of strength, were constant symptoms, and coma came on very speedily.

“ In some, the symptoms inclined more to the nervous than the inflammatory type. In these, the jaundice colour of the eye and skin, and the black vomiting, were more rare. But in the majority of cases, particularly after the nights became sensibly cooler, all the symptoms indicated violent irritation and inflammatory diathesis. In these cases the skin was always dry, and the remissions very obscure.

“ The febrile symptoms, however, as has been already observed, either gave way on the third, fourth, or fifth day, and then the patient recovered; or they were soon after succeeded by a different, but much more dangerous train of symptoms, by debility, low pulse, cold skin, (which assumed a tawny colour, mixed with purple) black vomiting, hæmorrhages, hiccup, anxiety, restlessness, coma, &c. Many, who survived the eighth day, though apparently out of danger, died suddenly in consequence of an hæmorrhage\*.”

This disorder having been new to nearly all our physicians, it is not surprising, although it has been exceedingly fatal, that there arose such a discordance of sentiment on the proper mode of treatment, and even with respect to its name. Dr. Rush has acknow-

\* For this account of the symptoms of the disorder I am indebted to the kindness of dr. Currie, from whose letter to dr. Senter, it is extracted.

ledged, with a candour that does him honour, that in the commencement, he so far mistook the nature of the disorder, that in his early essays, having depended on gentle purges of salts to purify the bowels of his patients, they all died. He then tried the mode of treatment adopted in the West Indies, viz. bark, wine, laudanum, and the cold bath, and failed in three cases out of four. Afterwards he had recourse to strong purges of calomel and jalap, and to bleeding, which he found attended with singular success.

The honour of the first essay of mercury in this disorder, is by many ascribed to dr. Hodge and dr. Carson, who are said to have employed it a week before dr. Rush. On this point I cannot pretend to decide. But whoever was the first to introduce it, one thing is certain, that its efficacy was great, and rescued many from death. I have known, however, some persons, who, I have every reason to believe, fell sacrifices to the great reputation this medicine acquired; for in several cases it was administered to persons of a previous lax habit, and brought on a speedy dissolution.

I am credibly informed that the demand for purges of calomel and jalap, was so great, that some of the apothecaries could not mix up every dose in detail; but mixed a large quantity of each, in the ordered proportions; and afterwards divided it into doses; by which means, it often happened that one patient had a much larger portion of calomel, and another of jalap, than was intended by the doctors. The fatal consequences of this may be easily conceived.

An intelligent citizen, who has highly distinguished himself by his attention to the sick, says, that he found the disorder generally come on with costiveness; and unless that was removed within the first twelve hours, he hardly knew any person to recover; on the contrary, he says, as few died, on whom the cathartics operated within that time.

The efficacy of bleeding, in all cases not attended with putridity, was great. The quantity of blood taken was in many cases astonishing. Dr. Grislins was

bled seven times in five days, and appears to ascribe his recovery principally to that operation. Dr. Mease, in five days, lost seventy-two ounces of blood, by which he was recovered when at the lowest stage of the disorder. Many others were bled still more, and are now as well as ever they were.

Dr. Rush and dr. Wistar have spoken very favourably of the salutary effects of cold air, and cool drinks, in this disorder. The latter says, that he found more benefit from cold air, than from any other remedy. He lay delirious, and in severe pain, between a window and door, the former of which was open. The wind suddenly changed, and blew full upon him, cold and raw. Its effects were so grateful, that he soon recovered from his delirium—his pain left him—in an hour he became perfectly reasonable—and his fever abated.

A respectable citizen who had the fever himself, and likewise watched its effects on eleven of his family, who recovered from it, has informed me, that a removal of the sick from a close, warm room to one a few degrees cooler, which practice he employed several times daily, produced a most extraordinary and favourable change in their appearance, in their pulse, and in their spirits.

### CHAP. III.—*First alarm in Philadelphia. Flight of the citizens. Guardians of the poor borne down with labour.*

**I**T was some time before the disorder attracted public notice. It had in the mean while swept off many persons. The first death that was a subject of general conversation, was that of Peter Aston, on the 19th of August, after a few days illness. Mrs. Lemaigre's, on the day following, and Thomas Miller's, on the 25th, with those of some others, after a short sickness, spread an universal terror.

The removals from Philadelphia began about the 25th or 26th of this month: and so great was the general terror, that for some weeks, carts, waggons, coachees, and chairs, were almost constantly transport-



ing families and furniture to the country in every direction. Many people shut up their houses wholly ; others left servants to take care of them. Business then became extremely dull. Mechanics and artists were unemployed ; and the streets wore the appearance of gloom and melancholy.

The first official notice taken of the disorder, was on the 22d of August, on which day the mayor of Philadelphia, Matthew Clarkson, esq. wrote to the city commissioners, and after acquainting them with the state of the city, gave them the most peremptory orders, to have the streets properly cleaned and purified by the scavengers, and all the filth immediately hauled away. These orders were repeated on the 27th, and similar ones given to the clerks of the market.

The 26th of the same month, the college of physicians had a meeting, at which they took into consideration the nature of the disorder, and the means of prevention and of cure. They published an address to the citizens, signed by the president and secretary, recommending to avoid all unnecessary intercourse with the infected ; to place marks on the doors or windows where they were ; to pay great attention to cleanliness and airing the rooms of the sick ; to provide a large and airy hospital in the neighbourhood of the city for their reception ; to put a stop to the tolling of the bells ; to bury those who died of the disorder in carriages and as privately as possible ; to keep the streets and wharves clean ; to avoid all fatigue of body and mind, and standing or sitting in the sun, or in the open air ; to accommodate the dress to the weather, and to exceed rather in warmth than in cool clothing : and to avoid intemperance, but to use fermented liquors, such as wine, beer and cider, with moderation. They likewise declared their opinion, that fires in the streets were very dangerous, if not ineffectual means of stopping the progress of the fever, and that they placed more dependance on the burning of gunpowder. The benefits of vinegar and camphor, they added, were confined chiefly to infected rooms ; and they could not be too often

used on handkerchiefs, or in smelling bottles, by persons who attended the sick.

In consequence of this address, the bells were immediately stopped from tolling. The expedience of this measure was obvious ; as they had before been constantly ringing almost the whole day, so as to terrify those in health, and drive the sick, as far as the influence of imagination could produce that effect, to their graves. An idea had gone abroad, that the burning of fires in the streets, would have a tendency to purify the air, and arrest the progress of the disorder. The people had, therefore, almost every night large fires lighted at the corners of the streets. The 29th, the mayor, conformably with the opinion of the college of physicians, published a proclamation, forbidding this practice. As a substitute, many had recourse to the firing of guns, which they imagined was a certain preventative of the disorder. This was carried so far, and attended with such danger, that it was forbidden by an ordinance of the mayor.

The 29th, the governor of the state wrote a letter to the mayor, strongly enforcing the necessity of the most vigorous and decisive exertions “ to prevent the extension of, and to destroy, the evil.” He desired that the various directions given by the college of physicians should be carried into effect. The same day, in his address to the legislature, he acquainted them, that a contagious disorder existed in the city ; and that he had taken every proper measure to ascertain the origin, nature, and extent of it. He likewise assured them that the health officer and physicians of the port, would take every precaution to allay and remove the public inquietude.

The number of the infected daily increasing, and the existence of an order against the admission of persons labouring under infectious diseases into the alms house, precluding them from a refuge there\*, some

\* At this period, the number of paupers in the alms house was between three and four hundred ; and the managers, apprehensive of spreading the disorder among them, enforced the above-mentioned order, which had been entered into a long

temporary place was requisite ; and three of the guardians of the poor, about the 26th of August, took possession of the circus, in which mr. Ricketts had lately exhibited his equestrian feats, being the only place that could be then procured for the purpose. Thither they sent seven persons afflicted with the malignant fever, where they lay in the open air for some time, and without any assistance†. Of these, one crawled out on the commons, where he died at a distance from the houses. Two died in the circus, one of whom was seasonably removed ; the other lay in a state of putrefaction for above forty eight hours, owing to the difficulty of procuring any person to remove him. On this occasion occurred an instance of courage in a servant girl, of which at that time few men were capable. The carter, who finally undertook to remove the corpse, having no assistant, and being unable alone to put it into the coffin, was on the point of relinquishing his design, and quitting the place. The girl perceived him, and understanding the difficulty he laboured under, offered her services, provided he would not inform the family with whom she lived‡. She accordingly helped him to put the body into the coffin, which was by that time crawling with maggots, and in the most loathsome state of putrefaction. It gives me pleasure to add, that she still lives, notwithstanding her very hazardous exploit.

The inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the circus took the alarm, and threatened to burn or destroy it, unless the sick were removed ; and it is believed they would have actually carried their threats into execution, had compliance been delayed a day longer.

The 29th, seven of the guardians of the poor had a conference with some of the city magistrates on the

time before. They, however, supplied beds and bedding, and all the money in their treasury, for their relief, out of that house.

† High wages were offered for nurses for these poor people—but none could be procured.

‡ Had they known of the circumstance, an immediate dismissal would have been the consequence.

subject of the fever, at which it was agreed to be indispensably necessary that a suitable house, as an hospital, should be provided near the city for the reception of the infected poor.

In consequence, in the evening of the same day, the guardians of the poor agreed to sundry resolutions, viz. to use their utmost exertions to procure a house, of the above description, for an hospital, (out of town, and as near thereto as might be practicable, consistent with the safety of the inhabitants,) for the poor who were or might be afflicted with contagious disorders; and be destitute of the means of providing necessary assistance otherwise; to engage physicians, nurses, attendants, and all necessaries for their relief in that house; to appoint proper persons in each district, to enquire after such poor as might be afflicted; to administer assistance to them in their own houses, and, if necessary, to remove them to the hospital. They reserved to themselves, at the same time, the liberty of drawing on the mayor for such sums as might be necessary to carry their plans into effect.

Conformably with these resolves, a committee of the guardians was appointed to make enquiry for a suitable place; and on due examination, they judged that a building adjacent to Bushhill, the mansion house of William Hamilton, esq. was the best calculated for the purpose. That gentleman was then absent, and had no agent in the city; and the great urgency of the case admitting no delay, eight of the guardians, accompanied by Hilary Baker, esq. one of the city aldermen, with the concurrence of the governor, proceeded, on the 31st of August, to the building they had fixed upon; and meeting with some opposition from a tenant who occupied it, they took possession of the mansion house itself, to which, on the same evening, they sent the four patients who remained at the circus.

Shortly after this, the guardians of the poor for the city, except James Wilson, Jacob Tomkins, jun. and William Sanson, ceased the performance of their duties, nearly the whole of them having



removed out of the city. Before this virtual vacation of office, they passed a resolve against the admission of any paupers whatever into the alms-house during the prevalence of the disorder\*. The whole care of the poor of the city, the providing for Bush-hill, sending the sick there, and burying the dead, devolved, therefore, on the above three guardians.

CHAP. IV. *General despondency. Deplorable scenes. Frightful view of human nature. A noble and exhilarating contrast.*

THE consternation of the people of Philadelphia at this period was carried beyond all bounds. Dismay and affright were visible in almost every person's countenance. Most of those who could by any means make it convenient, fled from the city. Of those who remained, many shut themselves up in their houses, and were afraid to walk the streets. The smoke of tobacco being regarded as a preventative, many persons, even women and small boys, had segars almost constantly in their mouths. Others placing full confidence in garlic, chewed it almost the whole day; some kept it in their pockets and shoes. Many were afraid to allow the barbers or hair-dressers to come near them, as instances had occurred of some of them having shaved the dead—and many having engaged as bleeders. Some, who carried their caution pretty far, bought lancets for themselves, not daring to be bled with the lancets of the bleeders. Many houses were hardly a moment in the day free from the smell of gunpowder, burned tobacco, nitre, sprinkled vinegar, &c. Some of the churches were almost deserted, and others wholly closed. The coffee house was shut up, as was the city library, and most of the public offices—three out of the four daily

\* The reason for entering into this order, was, that some paupers, who had been admitted previous thereto, with a certificate from the physicians, of their being free from the infection, had nevertheless died of it.

papers were discontinued\*, as were some of the others. Many were almost incessantly employed in purifying, scouring, and whitewashing their rooms. Those who ventured abroad, had handkerchiefs or sponges impregnated with vinegar or camphor at their noses, or smelling-bottles full of the thieves' vinegar. Others carried pieces of tarred rope in their hands or pockets, or camphor bags tied round their necks. The corpses of the most respectable citizens, even of those who did not die of the epidemic, were carried to the grave, on the shafts of a chair, the horse driven by a negro, unattended by a friend or relation, and without any sort of ceremony. People hastily shifted their course at the sight of a hearse coming towards them. Many never walked on the foot path, but went into the middle of the streets, to avoid being infected in passing by houses wherein people had died. Acquaintances and friends avoided each other in the streets, and only signified their regard by a cold nod. The old custom of shaking hands fell into such general disuse, that many shrunk back with affright at even the offer of the hand. A person with a crape, or any appearance of mourning, was shunned like a viper. And many valued themselves highly on the skill and address with which they got to windward of every person whom they met. Indeed it is not probable that London, at the last stage of the plague, exhibited stronger marks of terror, than were to be seen in Philadelphia, from the 25th or 26th of August, till pretty late in September. When people summoned up resolution to walk abroad, and take the air, the sick cart conveying patients to the hospital, or the hearse carrying the dead to the grave, which were travelling almost the whole day, soon damped their spirits, and plunged them again into despondency.

\* It would be improper to pass over this opportunity of mentioning, that the federal gazette, printed by Andrew Brown, was uninterruptedly continued, and with the usual industry, during the whole calamity, and was of the utmost service, in conveying to the citizens of the united states authentic intelligence of the state of the disorder, and of the city.

While affairs were in this deplorable state, and people at the lowest ebb of despair, we cannot be astonished at the frightful scenes that were acted, which seemed to indicate a total dissolution of the bonds of society in the nearest and dearest connexions. Who, without horror, can reflect on a husband, married perhaps for twenty years, deserting his wife in the last agony—a wife unfeelingly abandoning her husband on his death bed—parents forsaking their only children—children ungratefully flying from their parents, and resigning them to chance, often without an enquiry after their health or safety—masters hurrying off their faithful servants to Bushhill, even on suspicion of the fever, and that at a time, when, like Tartarus, it was open to every visitant, but never returned any—servants abandoning tender and humane masters, who only wanted a little care to restore them to health and usefulness—who, I say, can think of these things without horror? Yet they were daily exhibited in every quarter of our city; and such was the force of habit, that the parties who were guilty of this cruelty, felt no remorse themselves—nor met with the execration from their fellow-citizens, which such conduct would have excited at any other period. Indeed, at this awful crisis, so much did *self* appear to engross the whole attention of many, that less concern was felt for the loss of a parent, a husband, a wife, or an only child, than, on other occasions, would have been caused by the death of a servant, or even a favourite lap-dog.

This kind of conduct produced scenes of distress and misery, of which few parallels are to be met with, and which nothing could palliate, but the extraordinary public panic, and the great law of self preservation, the dominion of which extends over the whole animated world. Many men of affluent fortunes, who have given daily employment and sustenance to hundreds, have been abandoned to the care of a negro, after their wives, children, friends, clerks, and servants, had fled away, and left them to their fate. In many cases, no money could procure



proper attendance. With the poor, the case was, as might be expected, infinitely worse than with the rich. Many of these have perished, without a human being to hand them a drink of water, to administer medicines, or to perform any charitable office for them. Various instances have occurred, of dead bodies found lying in the streets; of persons who had no house or habitation, and could procure no shelter.

A man and his wife, once in affluent circumstances, were found lying dead in bed, and between them was their child, a little infant, who was sucking its mother's breasts. How long they had lain thus, was uncertain.

A woman, whose husband had just died of the fever, was seized with the pains of labour, and had nobody to assist her, as the women in the neighbourhood were afraid to go into the house. She lay for a considerable time in a degree of anguish that will not bear description. At length, she struggled to reach the window, and cried out for assistance. Two men, passing by, went up stairs; but they came at too late a stage.—She was striving with death—and actually in a few minutes expired in their arms.

Another woman, whose husband and two children lay dead in the room with her, was in the same situation as the former, without a midwife, or any other person to aid her. Her cries at the window brought up one of the carters employed by the committee for the relief of the sick. With his assistance, she was delivered of a child, which died in a few minutes, as did the mother, who was utterly exhausted by her labour, by the disorder, and by the dreadful spectacle before her. And thus lay in one room, no less than five dead bodies, an entire family, carried off in an hour or two. Many instances have occurred, of respectable women, who, in their lying-in, have been obliged to depend on their maid servants, for assistance—and some have had none but from their husbands. Some of the midwives were dead—and others had left the city.

A servant girl, belonging to a family in this city,

in which the fever had prevailed, was apprehensive of danger, and resolved to remove to a relation's house, in the country. She was, however, taken sick on the road, and returned to town, where she could find no person to receive her. One of the guardians of the poor provided a cart, and took her to the alms house, into which she was refused admittance. She was brought back, and the guardian offered five dollars to procure her a single night's lodging, but in vain. And in fine, after every effort made to provide her shelter, she absolutely expired in the cart.

To relate all the frightful cases of this nature that occurred, would fill a volume. To pass them over wholly would have been improper—to dwell on them longer would be painful. Let these few, therefore, suffice. But I must observe, that most of them happened in the first stage of the public panic. Afterwards, when the citizens recovered a little from their fright, they became rare.

These horrid circumstances having a tendency to throw a shade over the human character, it is proper to reflect a little light on the subject, wherever justice and truth will permit. Amidst the general abandonment of the sick that prevailed, there were to be found many illustrious instances of men and women, some in the middle, others in the lower spheres of life, who, in the exercise of the duties of humanity, exposed themselves to dangers, which terrified men, who have hundreds of times faced death without fear, in the field of battle. Some of them, alas! have fallen in the good cause! But why should they be regretted! never could they have fallen more gloriously. Foremost in this noble groupe stands Joseph Inskip, a most excellent man in every of the social relations, of citizen, brother, husband, and friend.—To the sick and the forsaken, has he devoted his hours, to relieve and comfort them in their tribulation, and his kind assistance was dealt out with equal freedom to an utter stranger as to his bosom friend. Numerous are the instances of men restored, by his kind cares and attention, to their families, from the very jaws

of death.—In various cases has he been obliged to put dead bodies into coffins, when the relations fled from the mournful office. The merit of Andrew Adgate, Joab Jones, and Daniel Offley, in the same way, was conspicuous, and of the last importance to numbers of distressed creatures, bereft of every other comfort. Of those worthy men, Willson and Tomkins, I have already spoken. The rev. mr. Fleming and the rev. mr. Winkhaufe, exhausted themselves by a succession of labours, day and night, attending on the sick, and ministering relief to their spiritual and temporal wants.

Of those who have happily survived their dangers, and are preserved to their fellow citizens, I shall mention a few. They enjoy the supreme reward of a self-approving conscience; and I readily believe, that in the most secret recesses, remote from the public eye, they would have done the same. But next to the sense of having done well, is the approbation of our friends and fellow men; and when the debt is great, and the only payment that can be made is applause, it is surely the worst species of avarice, to withhold it. We are always ready, too ready, alas! to bestow censure—and, as if anxious lest we should not give enough, we generally heap the measure. When we are so solicitous to deter by reproach from folly, vice, and crime, why not be equally disposed to stimulate to virtue and heroism, by freely bestowing the well-earned plaudit? Could I suppose, that in any future equally dangerous emergency, the opportunity I have seized of bearing my feeble testimony, in favour of these worthy persons, would be a means of exciting others to emulate their heroic virtue, it would afford me the highest consolation I have ever experienced.

The rev. Henry Helmuth's merits are of the most exalted kind. His whole time, during the prevalence of the disorder, was spent in the performance of the works of mercy, visiting and relieving the sick, comforting the afflicted, and feeding the hungry. Of his congregation, some hundreds have paid the last debt to nature, since the malignant fever began; and, I



believe, he attended nearly the whole of them. To so many dangers was he exposed, that he stands a living miracle of preservation. The rev. C. V. Keating, the rev. mr. Ustick, and the rev. mr. Dickens, have been in the same career, and performed their duties to the sick with equal fidelity, and with equal danger. The venerable old citizen, Samuel Robeson, has been like a good angel, indefatigably performing, in families where there was not one person able to help another, even the menial offices of the kitchen, in every part of his neighbourhood. Thomas Allibone, Lambert Wilmer, Levi Hollingsworth, John Barker, Hannah Paine, John Hutchinson, and great numbers of others have distinguished themselves by the kindest offices of disinterested humanity. Magnus Miller, Samuel Coates, and other good citizens, in that time of pinching distress and difficulty, advanced sums of money to individuals whose resources were cut off, and who, though accustomed to a life of independence, were absolutely destitute of the means of subsistence. And as the widow's mite has been mentioned in scripture with so much applause, let me add, that a worthy widow, whose name I am grieved I cannot mention, came to the city-hall, and out of her means, which are very moderate, offered the committee twenty dollars for the relief of the poor. John Connelly has spent hours beside the sick, when their own wives and children had abandoned them. Twice did he catch the disorder—twice was he on the brink of the grave, which was yawning to receive him—yet, unappalled by the imminent danger he had escaped, he again returned to the charge. I feel myself affected at this part of my subject, with emotions, which I fear my unanimated style is ill calculated to transfuse into the breast of my reader. I wish him to dwell on this part of the picture, with a degree of exquisite pleasure equal to what I feel in the description. When we view man in this light, we lose sight of his feebleness, his imperfection, his vice—he resembles, in a small degree, that divine being, who is an inexhaustible mine of mercy and goodness.

And, as a human being, I rejoice, that it has fallen to my lot, to be a witness and recorder of a magnanimity which would alone be sufficient to rescue the character of mortals from obloquy and reproach.

CHAP. V. *Distress increases. Benevolent citizens invited to assist the guardians of the poor. Ten volunteers. Appointment of the committee for relief of the sick. State of Philadelphia.*

IN the mean time, the situation of affairs became daily more and more serious. Those of the guardians of the poor, who continued to act, were quite oppressed with the labours of their office, which increased to such a degree, that they were utterly unable to execute them. I have already mentioned, that for the city there were but three who persevered in the performance of their duty\*. It must give the reader great concern to hear, that two of them, James Wilson, and Jacob Tomkins, excellent and indefatigable young men, whose services were at that time of very great importance, fell sacrifices in the cause of humanity. The other, William Sansom, was likewise, in the execution of his dangerous office, seized with the disorder, and on the brink of the grave, but was so fortunate as to recover. The diseased persons became daily more numerous. Owing to the general terror, nurses, carters, and attendants could hardly be procured. Thus circumstanced, the mayor of the city, on the 10th of September, published an address

\* With respect to the guardians of the poor, I have been misunderstood. I only spoke of those for the city. Those for the liberties, generally, continued at their post; and two of them, Wm. Peter Sprague, and William Gregory, performed, in the northern liberties, the very same kind of services as the committee did in the city, viz. attended to the burial of the dead, and the removal of the sick. In Southwark, the like tour of duty was executed by Clement Humphreys, ——— Cornish, and Robert Jones. Far be it from me to deprive any man of applause so richly and hazardously earned. I only regret, that want of leisure prevents me from collecting the names of all those who have nobly distinguished themselves, by their attention to the alleviation of the general calamity.

to the citizens, announcing that the guardians of the poor, who remained, were in distress for want of assistance, and inviting such benevolent people, as felt for the general distress, to lend their aid. In consequence of this advertisement, a meeting of the citizens was held at the city-hall, on Thursday, the 12th of September, at which very few attended, from the universal consternation that prevailed. The state of the poor was fully considered; and ten citizens, Israel Israel, Samuel Wetherill, Thomas Wistar, Andrew Adgate, Caleb Lownes, Henry Deforest, Thomas Peters, Joseph Inskeep, Stephen Girard, and John Mason, offered themselves to assist the guardians of the poor. At this meeting, a committee was appointed to confer with the physicians who had the care of Bushhill, and make report of the state of that hospital. This committee reported next evening, that it was in very bad order, and in want of almost every thing.

On Saturday, the 14th, another meeting was held, when the alarming state of affairs being fully considered, it was resolved to borrow fifteen hundred dollars of the bank of North America, for the purpose of procuring suitable accommodations for the use of persons afflicted with the prevailing malignant fever. At this meeting, a committee was appointed to transact the whole of the business relative to the relief of the sick, and the procuring of physicians, nurses, attendants, &c. This is the committee, which, by virtue of that appointment, has, from that day to the present time, watched over the sick, the poor, the widow, and the orphan. It is worthy of remark, and may encourage others in times of public calamity, that this committee consisted originally of only twenty-six persons, men mostly taken from the middle walks of life; of these, four, Andrew Adgate, Jonathan Dickinson Sargeant, Daniel Offley, and Joseph Inskeep, died, the two first at an early period of their labours—and four never attended to the appointment. “The heat and burden of the day” have therefore been borne by eighteen persons, whose



exertions have been so highly favoured by providence, that they have been the instruments of averting the progress of destruction, eminently relieving the distressed, and restoring confidence to the terrified inhabitants of Philadelphia. It is honourable to this committee, that they have conducted their business with more harmony than is generally to be met with in public bodies of equal number. Probably there never was one, of which the members were so regular in their attendance; the meetings, at the worst of times—those times, which, to use Paine's emphatic language, "tried men's souls," were composed, in general, of twelve, thirteen, and fourteen members.

Never, perhaps, was there a city in the situation of Philadelphia at this period. The president of the united states, according to his annual custom, had removed to Mount Vernon with his household. Most, if not all of the other officers of the federal government were absent. The governor, who had been sick, had gone, by directions of his physician, to his country seat near the falls of Schuylkill—and nearly the whole of the officers of the state had likewise retired.—The magistrates of the city, except the mayor\*, and John Barclay†, esq. were away, as were most of those of the liberties. Of the situation of the guardians of the poor‡, I have already made mention. In fact, government of every kind was almost wholly vacated, and seemed, by tacit, but universal consent, to be vested in the committee.

\* This magistrate deserves particular praise. He was the first who invited the citizens to "rally round the standard" of charity, and convened the meeting at which the committee for relief of the sick was appointed, as well as the preceding ones: of this committee he was appointed president, which duty he punctually fulfilled during the whole time of the distress.

† This gentleman, late mayor of the city, acted in the double capacity of alderman and president of the bank of Pennsylvania, to the duties of which offices he devoted himself unremittingly, except during an illness which threatened to add him to the number of valuable men of whom we have been bereft.

‡ The managers of the alms house attended to the duties imposed on them, and met regularly at that building every week.

CHAP. VI. *Magnanimous offer. Wretched State of Bush-hill. Order introduced there.*

AT the meeting on Sept. 15th, a circumstance occurred to which the most glowing pencil could hardly do justice. Stephen Girard, a wealthy merchant, a native of France, and one of the members of the committee, touched with the wretched situation of the sufferers at Bush-hill, voluntarily and unexpectedly offered himself as a manager to superintend that hospital. The surprise and satisfaction, excited by this extraordinary effort of humanity, can be better conceived than expressed. Peter Helm, a native of Pennsylvania, also a member, actuated by the like benevolent motives, offered his services in the same department. Their offers were accepted; and the same afternoon they entered on the execution of their dangerous and praiseworthy office\*.

To form a just estimate of the value of the offer of these men, it is necessary to take into full consideration the general consternation, which at that period pervaded every quarter of the city, and which made attendance on the sick be regarded as little less than a certain sacrifice. Uninfluenced by any reflexions of this kind, without any possible inducement but the purest motives of humanity, they came forward, and offered themselves as the forlorn hope of the committee. I trust that the gratitude of their fellow citizens will remain as long as the memory of their beneficent conduct, which I hope will not die with the present generation.

On the 16th, the managers of Bushhill, after personal inspection of the state of affairs there, made report of its situation, which was truly deplorable. It exhibited as wretched a picture of human misery as ever existed. A profligate, abandoned set of nurses and attendants (hardly any of good character could at that time be procured,) rioted on the provisions and comforts, prepared for the sick, who

\* The management of the interior department was assumed by Stephen Girard—the exterior by Peter Helm.

(unless at the hours when the doctors attended) were left almost entirely destitute of every assistance. The sick, the dying, and the dead were indiscriminately mingled together. The ordure and other evacuations of the sick, were allowed to remain in the most offensive state imaginable. Not the smallest appearance of order or regularity existed. It was, in fact, a great human slaughter house, where numerous victims were immolated at the altar of riot and intemperance. No wonder, then, that a general dread of the place prevailed through the city, and that a removal to it was considered as the seal of death. In consequence, there were various instances of sick persons locking their rooms, and resisting every attempt to carry them away. At length, the poor were so much afraid of being sent to Bush-hill, that they would not acknowledge their illness, until it was no longer possible to conceal it. For it is to be observed, that the fear of the contagion was so prevalent, that as soon as any one was taken ill, an alarm was spread among the neighbours, and every effort was used to have the sick person hurried off to Bush-hill, to avoid spreading the disorder. The cases of poor people forced in this way to that hospital, though labouring under only common colds, and common fall fevers, were numerous and afflicting. There were not wanting instances of persons, only slightly ill, being sent to Bush-hill, by their panic-struck neighbours, and embracing the first opportunity of running back to Philadelphia.

The regulations adopted at Bush-hill, were as follow:

One of the rooms in the mansion house (which contains fourteen, besides three large entres) was allotted to the matron, and an assistant under her—eleven rooms and two entries to the sick. Those who were in a very low state were in one room—and one was appointed for the dying. The men and women were kept in distinct rooms, and attended by nurses of their own sexes. Every sick person was furnished with a bedstead, clean sheet, pillow, two or three blan-



kets, porringer, plate, spoon, and clean linen, when necessary. In the mansion house were one hundred and forty bedsteads. The new frame house, built by the committee, when it was found that the old buildings were inadequate to contain the patients commodiously, is sixty feet front, and eighteen feet deep, with three rooms on the ground floor; one of which was for the head nurses of that house, the two others for the sick. Each of these two last contained seventeen bedsteads. The loft, designed for the convalescents, was calculated to contain forty.

The barn is a large, commodious stone building, divided into three apartments; one occupied by the resident doctors and apothecary; one, which contained forty bedsteads, by the men convalescents—and the other by the women convalescents, which contained fifty-seven.

At some distance from the west of the hospital, was erected a frame building to store the coffins, and deposit the dead until they were sent to a place of interment.

Besides the nurses employed in the house, there were two cooks, four labourers, and three washer-women, constantly employed for the use of the hospital.

The sick were visited twice a day by two physicians, dr. Deveze and dr. Benjamin Duffield\*, whose prescriptions were executed by three resident physicians and the apothecary.

One of the resident doctors was charged with the distribution of the victuals for the sick. At eleven o'clock, he gave them broth with rice, bread, boiled

\* Very soon after the organization of the committee, dr. Deveze, a respectable French physician from Cape Francois, offered his services in the line of his profession at Bush-hill. Dr. Benjamin Duffield did the same. Their offers were accepted, and they have both attended with great punctuality. Dr. Deveze renounced all other practice, which, at that period, would have been very lucrative, when there was such general demand for physicians. The committee, in consideration of the services of these two gentlemen, have lately presented dr. Duffield with five hundred, and dr. Deveze with fifteen hundred dollars.

beef, veal, mutton, and chicken, with cream of rice to those whose stomachs would not bear stronger nourishment. Their second meal was at six o'clock, when they had broth, rice, boiled prunes, with cream of rice. The sick drank at their meals porter, or claret and water. Their constant drink between meals was centaury tea, and boiled lemonade.

These regulations, the order and regularity introduced, and the care and tenderness with which the patients were treated, soon established the character of the hospital; and in the course of a week or two, numbers of sick people, who had not at home proper persons to nurse them, applied to be sent to Bush-hill. Indeed, in the end, so many people, who were afflicted with other disorders, procured admittance there, that it became necessary to pass a resolve, that before an order of admission should be granted, a certificate must be produced from a physician, that the patient laboured under the malignant fever; for had all the applicants been received, this hospital, provided for an extraordinary occasion, would have been filled with patients whose cases entitled them to a reception in the Pennsylvania hospital.

The number of persons received into Bush-hill, from the 16th of September to this time, is about one thousand; of whom nearly five hundred are dead; there are now (Nov. 30,) in the house, about twenty sick, and fifty convalescents. Of the latter class, there have been dismissed about four hundred and thirty.

The reason why so large a proportion died of those received, is, that in a variety of cases, the early fears of that hospital had got such firm possession of the minds of some, and others were so much actuated by a foolish pride, that they would never consent to be removed till they were past recovery. And in consequence of this, there were many instances of persons dying in the cart on the road to the hospital. I speak within bounds, when I say that at least a third of the whole number of those received, did not survive their entrance into the hospital two days. Were it not for the operation of these two motives, the number of

the dead in the city and in the hospital would have been much lessened; for many a man, whose nice feelings made him spurn at the idea of a removal to the hospital, perished in the city for want of that comfortable assistance he would have had at Bush-hill\*.

Before I conclude this chapter, let me add, that the perseverance of the managers of that hospital has been equally meritorious with their original beneficence. During the whole calamity to this time, they have attended uninterruptedly, for six, seven, or eight hours a day, renouncing almost every care of private affairs. They have had a laborious tour of duty to perform. Stephen Girard, whose office was in the interior part of the hospital, has had to encourage and comfort the sick—to hand them necessaries and medicines—to wipe the sweat off their brows—and to perform many disgusting offices of kindness for them, which nothing could render tolerable, but the exalted motives that impelled him to this heroic conduct. Peter Helm, his worthy coadjutor, displayed, in his department, equal exertions, to promote the common good.

CHAP. VII. *Proceedings of the committee—Loans from the bank of North America. Establishment of an orphan house. Relief of the poor. Appointment of the assistant committee.*

THE committee, on its organization, resolved that three of the members should attend daily at the city hall, to receive applications for relief; to provide for the burial of the dead, and for the convey-

\* I omitted in the former editions to mention the name of a most excellent and invaluable woman, Mrs. Saville, the matron in this hospital, whose services in the execution of her office, were above all price. Never was there a person better qualified for such a situation. To the most strict observance of system, she united all the tenderness and humanity which are so essentially requisite in an hospital, but which habit so very frequently and fatally extinguishes: should the wisdom of our legislature decree the permanent establishment of a lazaretto, no person can be found more deserving, or better qualified to be entrusted with the care of it.



ance of persons labouring under the malignant fever, to Bush-hill. But three being found inadequate to the execution of the multifarious and laborious duties to be performed, this order was rescinded, and daily attendance was given by nearly all of the members.

A number of carts and carters were engaged for the burial of the dead, and removal of the sick. And it was a melancholy sight to behold them incessantly employed through the whole day, in these mournful offices.

The committee borrowed fifteen hundred dollars from the bank of North America, agreeably to the resolves of the town meeting by which they were appointed. Several of the members entered into security to repay that sum, in case the corporation or legislature should refuse to make provision for its discharge. This sum being soon expended, a farther loan of 5000 dollars was negotiated with the same institution\*.

In the progress of the disorder, the committee found the calls on their humanity increase. The numerous deaths of heads of families left a very large body of children in a most abandoned, forlorn state. The bettering house, in which such helpless objects have been usually placed heretofore, was barred against them, by the order which I have already mentioned. Many of these little innocents were actually suffering for want of even common necessaries. The deaths of their parents and protectors, which should have been the strongest recommendation to public charity, was the very reason of their distress, and of their being shunned as a pestilence. The children of a family once in easy circumstances, were found in a blacksmith's shop, squalid, dirty, and half starved, having been for a considerable time without even bread to eat. Various instances of a similar nature occurred. This evil early caught the attention of the committee, and on the 19th of September, they hired a house in

\* It ought to be mentioned, that on the payment of these sums, the directors generously declined accepting interest for the use of them.

Fifth-street, in which they placed thirteen children. The number increasing, they on the 3d of October, procured the Loganian library, which was generously given up by John Swanwick, esq. for the purpose of an orphan house. A further increase of their little charge, rendered it necessary to build some additions to the library, which are nearly half as large as that building. At present, there are in the house, under the care of the orphan committee, about sixty children, and above forty are out with wet nurses. From the origin of the institution, one hundred and ninety children have fallen under their care, of whom sixteen are dead, and about seventy have been delivered to their relations or friends. There are instances of five and six children of a single family in the house. To these precious deposits the utmost attention has been paid. They are well fed, comfortably clothed, and properly taken care of. Mary Parvin, a very suitable person for the purpose, has been engaged as matron, and there are, besides, sufficient persons employed to assist her. Various applications have been made for some of the children; but in no instance would the committee surrender any of them up, until they had satisfactory evidence that the claimants had a right to make the demand. Their relations are now publicly called upon to come and receive them. For such as may remain unclaimed, the best provision possible will be made; and so great is the avidity of many people to have some of them, that there will be no difficulty in placing them to advantage.

Another duty soon attracted the attention of the committee. The flight of so many of our citizens, the consequent stagnation of business, and the almost total cessation of the labours of the guardians of the poor, brought on among the lower classes of the people, a great degree of distress, which loudly demanded the interposition of the humane. In consequence, on the 20th of September, a committee of distribution, of three members, was appointed, to furnish such assistance to deserving objects as their respective cases might require, and the funds allow. This was at first adminis-

tered to but few, owing to the confined state of the finances. But the very extraordinary liberality of our fugitive fellow citizens, of the citizens of New York, and of those of various towns and townships, encouraged the committee to extend their views. In consequence, they increased the distributing committee to eight, and afterwards to ten.

Being, in the execution of this important service, liable to imposition, they, on the 14th of October, appointed an assistant committee, composed of forty-five citizens, chosen from the several districts of the city and liberties. The duty assigned this assistant committee, was to seek out and give recommendations to deserving objects in distress, who, on producing them, were relieved by the committee of distribution, (who sat daily at the City Hall, in rotation,) with money, provisions, or wood, or all three, according as their necessities required. The assistant committee executed this business with such care, that it is probable so great a number of people were never before relieved, with so little imposition. Some shameless creatures, possessed of houses, and comfortable means of support, have been detected in endeavouring to partake of the relief destined solely for the really indigent and distressed.

Besides those who came forward to ask assistance in the way of gift, there was another class, in equal distress, and equally entitled to relief, who could not descend to accept it as charity. The committee, disposed to foster this laudable principle, one of the best securities from debasement of character, relieved persons of this description with small loans weekly, just enough for immediate support, and took acknowledgments for the debt, without ever intending to urge payment, if not perfectly convenient to the parties.

The number of persons relieved weekly, was about twelve hundred; many of whom had families of four, five, and six persons.

The gradual revival of business has rescued those who are able and willing to work, from the humiliation of depending on public charity. And the organization of the overseers of the poor has thrown the



support of the proper objects of charity into its old channel. The distribution of money, &c. ceased therefore on Saturday, the 23d of November.

C H A P. VIII. *Repeated addresses of the committee on the purification of houses.—Assistant committee undertake to inspect infected houses personally. Extinction of the disorder. Governor's proclamation. Address of the clergy. A new and happy state of affairs.*

THE committee exerted its cares for the welfare of the citizens in every case in which its interference was at all proper or necessary. The declension of the disorder induced many persons to return to the city at an earlier period, than prudence dictated. On the 26th of October, therefore, the committee addressed their fellow citizens, congratulating them on the very flattering change that had taken place, which afforded a cheering prospect of being soon freed from the disorder entirely. They, however, recommended to those who were absent, not to return till the intervention of cold weather or rain\* should render such a step justifiable and proper, by totally extinguishing the disease.

The 29th, they published another address, earnestly exhorting those whose houses had been closed, to have them well aired and purified; to throw lime into the privies, &c.

The 4th of November, they again addressed the public, announcing that it was unsafe for those who had resided in the country, to return to town with too much precipitation, especially into houses not properly prepared. They added, that though the disorder had considerably abated, and though there was reason to hope it would shortly disappear, yet they could not say it was totally eradicated; as there was reason to fear it still lurked in different parts of the city. They reiterated their representations on the subject of cleansing houses.

\* I shall in some of the following pages attempt to prove, that the idea here held out, was erroneous.

The 14th, they once more addressed their fellow citizens, informing them of the restoration to our long afflicted city, of as great a degree of health as usually prevails at the same season ; of no new cases of the malignant fever having occurred for many days ; of their having reason to hope that in a few days not a vestige of it would remain in the city or suburbs ; of applications for admission into the hospital having ceased ; of the expectation of the physicians at the hospital, that no more than three or four would die out of ninety one persons remaining there ; of the number of convalescents increasing daily. They at the same time most earnestly recommended that houses in which the disorder had been, should be purified ; and that the clothing or bedding of the sick, more especially of those who had died of the disorder, should be washed, baked, buried, or destroyed. They added, that the absent citizens of Philadelphia, as well as those strangers who had business in the city, might safely come to it, without fear of the disorder.

Notwithstanding all these cautions, many persons returned from the country, without paying any attention to the cleansing of their houses, thereby sporting not only with their own lives, but with the safety of their fellow citizens. The neglect of some people, in this way, has been so flagrant, as to merit the severest punishment. This dangerous nuisance attracted the notice of the committee ; and after a conference with the assistant committee, they, on the 15th of November, in conjunction with them, resolved, that it was highly expedient to have all houses and stores in the city and liberties, wherein the malignant fever had prevailed, purified and cleansed as speedily and completely as possible ; to have all those well aired, which had been closed for any length of time ; to have lime thrown into the privies ; to call in, when the district should be too large for the members to enforce compliance with those resolves, such assistants as might be necessary ; and when any person, whose house required to be cleansed, and who was able to defray the expense thereof, should refuse or neglect to com-

ply with the requisition of the members appointed to carry those resolves into effect, to report him to the next grand jury for the city and county, as supporting a nuisance dangerous to the public welfare. The assistant committee undertook to exert themselves to have these salutary plans put into execution; they have gone through the city and liberties for the purpose; and in most cases have found a readiness in the inhabitants to comply with a requisition of such importance\*.

This was the last act of the committee that requires notice. Their business has since gone on in a regular, uniform train, every day like the past. They are now settling their accounts, and are preparing to surrender up their trust, into the hands of a town meeting of their fellow citizens, the constituents by whom they were called into the unprecedented office they have filled. To them they will give an account of their stewardship, in a time of distress, the like of which heaven avert from the people of America for ever. Doubtless, a candid construction will be put upon their conduct, and it will be believed, that they have acted in every case that came under their cognizance, according to the best of their abilities.

On the 14th, governor Mifflin published a proclamation, announcing, that as it had pleased Almighty God to put an end to the grievous calamity which recently afflicted the city of Philadelphia, it was the duty of all who were truly sensible of the divine mercy, to employ the earliest moments of returning health, in devout expressions of penitence, submission, and gratitude. He therefore appointed Thursday, the

\* The utmost exertions of the magistrates, and of the citizens generally are necessary to guard against the deplorable consequences that may arise in the spring from the neglect of a few whose supineness renders them deaf to every call of duty in this respect. The beds secreted by the nurses who attended the sick, are likewise a fruitful source of danger, and demand the greatest vigilance from every person invested with authority to watch over the public safety.



12th of December†, as a day of general humiliation, thanksgiving, and prayer, and earnestly exhorted and intreated his fellow citizens “ to abstain, on that day, from all worldly avocations, and to unite in confessing, with contrite hearts, their manifold sins and transgressions—in acknowledging, with thankful adoration, the mercy and goodness of the Supreme Ruler of the universe, more especially manifested in our late deliverance; and in praying, with solemn zeal, that the same mighty power would be graciously pleased to instil into our minds the just principles of our duty to him and to our fellow creatures; to regulate and guide all our actions by his holy spirit to avert from all mankind the evils of war, pestilence and famine; and to bless and protect us in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty.”

The 18th, the clergy of the city published an elegant and pathetic address, recommending that the day appointed by the governor, “ should be set apart and kept holy to the Lord, not merely as a day of thanksgiving, for that, in all appearance, it had pleased him, of his infinite mercy, to stay the rage of the malignant disorder, (when we had well nigh said, hath God forgot to be gracious?)—but also as a day of solemn humiliation and prayer, joined with the confession of our manifold sins, and of our neglect and abuse of his former mercies; together with sincere resolutions of future amendment and obedience to his holy will and laws; without which our prayers, praises, and thanksgivings will be in vain.”

The 26th the assistant committee passed several very judicious and salutary resolves, requiring their members in their several districts through the city and liberties, immediately to inspect the condition of all taverns, boarding houses, and other buildings

† The pious observance of this day, by an almost total cessation of business (except among the friends, whose stores generally remained open) and by the churches being universally filled with people pouring forth the effusions of their gratitude for the cessation of the dreadful scourge, exceeded that of any other day of thanksgiving I have ever known.

in which the late contagious disorder is known to have been ; to notify the owners or tenants, to have them purified and cleansed ; to report the names of such as should refuse compliance, and also make report of every house shut up, in which any person is known to have lately sickened or died. They cautioned the vendue masters not to sell, and the public not to buy any clothes or bedding belonging to persons lately deceased, until they know that the same has been sufficiently purified and aired.

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I have not judged it necessary to enter into a minute detail of the business of the committee from day to day. It would afford little gratification to the reader. It would be, for several weeks, little more than a melancholy history of fifteen, twenty, thirty applications daily, for coffins and carts to bury the dead, who had none to perform that last office for them—or as many applications for the removal of the sick to Bush hill. There was little variety. The present day was as dreary as the past—and the prospect of the approaching one was equally gloomy. This was the state of things for a long time. But at length brighter prospects dawned. The disorder decreased in violence. The number of the sick diminished. New cases became rare. The spirits of the citizens revived—and the tide of migration was once more turned. A visible alteration has taken place in the state of affairs in the city. Our friends return in crowds. Every hour, long-absent and welcome faces appear—and in many instances, those of persons, whom public fame has buried for weeks past. The stores, so long closed, are nearly all opened again. Many of the country merchants, bolder than others, are daily venturing in to their old place of supply. Market-street is as full of waggons as usual. The custom-house, for weeks nearly deserted by our mercantile people, is thronged with citizens entering their vessels and goods. The streets, too long the abode of gloom and despair, have assumed the bustle suited to the season. Our wharves are filled with vessels loading and unloading their respective cargoes. And, in fine, as

every thing, in the early stage of the disorder, seemed calculated to add to the general consternation; so now, on the contrary, every circumstance has a tendency to revive the courage and hopes of our citizens. But we have to lament, that the same spirit of exaggeration and lying, that prevailed at a former period, and was the grand cause of the harsh measures adopted by our sister states, has not ceased to operate; for at the present moment, when the danger is entirely done away, the credulous, of our own citizens still absent, and of the country people, are still alarmed with frightful rumours, of the disorder raging with as much violence as ever; of numbers carried off, a few hours after their return; and of new cases daily occurring. To what design to attribute these shameful tales, I know not. Were I to regard them in a spirit of resentment, I should be inclined to charge them to some secret, interested views of their authors, intent, if possible, to effect the entire destruction of our city. But I will not allow myself to consider them in this point of light—and will even suppose they arise from a proneness to terrific narration, natural to some men. But they should consider, that we are in the situation of the frogs in the fable—while those tales, which make the hair of the country people stand on end, are sport to the fabricators, they are death to us. And I here assert, and defy contradiction, that of the whole number of our fugitive citizens, who have already returned, amounting to some thousands, not above two persons are dead—and these owe their fate to the most shameful neglect of airing and cleansing their houses, notwithstanding the various cautions published by the committee. If people will venture into houses in which infected air has been pent up for weeks together, without any purification, we cannot be surprized at the consequences, however fatal they may be. But let not the catastrophe of a few incautious persons operate to bring discredit on a city containing above fifty thousand people.



CHAP. IX. *Extravagant letters from Philadelphia. Credulity put to the test.*

**T**HAT I might not interrupt the chain of events in Philadelphia, I have deferred, till now, giving an account of the proceedings in the several states, respecting our fugitives. As an introduction thereto, I shall prefix a short chapter respecting those letters, which excited the terror of our neighbours, and impeded them to more severe measures than they would otherwise have adopted.

Great as was the calamity of Philadelphia, it was magnified in the most extraordinary manner. The hundred tongues of rumour were never more successfully employed, than on this melancholy occasion. The terror of the inhabitants of all the neighbouring states was excited by letters from this city, distributed by every mail, many of which told tales of woe, whereof hardly a single circumstance was true, but which were every where received with implicit faith. The distresses of the city, and the fatality of the disorder, were exaggerated as it were to see how far credulity could be carried. The plague of London was, according to rumour, hardly more fatal than our yellow fever. Our citizens died so fast, that there was hardly enough of people to bury them. Ten, or fifteen, or more, were said to be cast into one hole together, like so many dead beasts\*. One man, whose feelings were so composed, as to be facetious on the subject, ac-

\* The following extract appeared in a Norfolk paper about the middle of September :

*Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, to a gentleman in Norfolk, Sept. 9.*

“Half the inhabitants of this city have already fled to different parts, on account of the pestilential disorder that prevails here. The few citizens who remained in this place, die in abundance, so fast that they drag them away, like dead beasts, and put ten, or fifteen, or more, in a hole together. All the stores are shot up. I am afraid this city will be ruined : for nobody will come near it hereafter. I am this day removing my family from this fatal place.” I am strongly inclined to imagine that this letter was the cause of the Virginia proclamation.

quainted a correspondent, in New York, that the only business carrying on, was *grave digging*, or rather *pitdigging*†. And at a time when the deaths did not exceed from forty to fifty daily, many men had the modesty to write, and others, throughout the continent, the credulity to believe, that we buried from one hundred to one hundred and fifty\*. Thousands were swept off in three or four weeks‡. And the nature

† *From a New York paper of October 2.*

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia, dated September 23.*

“The papers must have amply informed you of the melancholy situation of this city for five or six weeks past. *Grave-digging* has been the only business carrying on; and indeed I may say of late, *pit-digging*, where people are interred indiscriminately in three tiers of coffins. From the most accurate observations I can make upon matters, I think I speak within bounds, when I say, eighteen hundred persons have perished (I do not say all of the yellow fever) since its first appearance.”

\* *From the Maryland Journal, of Sept. 27th.*

*Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated Sept. 20th.*

“The disorder seems to be much the same in this place as when I last wrote you: about 1500 have fallen victims to it. Last Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, there were not less than 350 died with this severe disorder!!! As I informed you before, this is the most distressed place I ever beheld. Whole families go in the disorder, in the course of twelve hours. For your own sakes, use all possible means to keep it out of Baltimore.”

*Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, of the same date:*

“The malignant fever which prevails here, is still increasing. Report says, that above one hundred have been buried per day for some time past. It is now thought to be more infectious than ever. I think you ought to be very careful with respect to admitting persons from Philadelphia into your town.”

‡ *From a Chestertown paper, of Sept. 10.*

*Extract of a letter from a respectable young mechanic, in Philadelphia, to his friend in this town, dated the 5th inst.*

“It is now a very mortal time in this city. The yellow fever hath killed some thousands of the inhabitants. Eight thousand mechanics, besides other people, have left the town. Every master in the city, of our branch of business, is gone.” The *some thousands* that were killed at that time, did not amount to three hundred. The authentic information in this letter, was

and danger of the disorder, were as much misrepresented, as the number of the dead. It was said, in defiance of every day's experience, to be as inevitable by all exposed to the contagion, as the stroke of fate.

The credulity of some, the proneness to exaggeration of others, and I am sorry, extremely sorry to believe, the interested views of a few\*, will account for these letters.

C H A P. X. *Proceedings at Chestertown—At New York  
—At Trenton and Lambertton—At Baltimore.*

THE effects produced by those tales, were such as might be reasonably expected. The consternation spread through the several states like wild-fire. The first public act that took place on the subject, as far as I can learn, was at Chestertown, in Maryland. At this place, a meeting was held on the 10th of September, and several resolves entered into, which, after specifying that the disorder had extended to Trenton, Princeton, Woodbridge, and Elizabeth-town, on the post road to New York, directed, that notice should be sent to the owners of the stages not to allow them to pass through the town, while there should be reason to expect danger therefrom; and that a committee of health and inspection should be appointed, to provide for the relief of such poor inhabitants as might take the disorder, and likewise for such strangers as might be infected with it. In consequence of these resolves, the Eastern shore line of stages was stopt in the course of a few days afterwards.

The alarm in New York was first officially announced by a letter from the mayor to the practising

circulated in every state in the union, by the news papers. From the date, I suspect this letter to have been the occasion of the Chestertown resolves.

\* As this charge is extremely pointed, it may be requisite to state the foundation of it, for the reader to form his opinion upon. Some of the letters from Philadelphia about this time, were written by persons, whose interest it was to injure the city; and gave statements so very different, even from the very worst rumours prevailing here, that it was morally impossible the writers themselves could have believed them.

physicians, dated Sept. 11, in which he requested them to report to him in writing the names of all such persons as had arrived, or should arrive from Philadelphia, or any other place, by land or water, and were or should be sick; that such as should be deemed subjects of infectious diseases, might be removed out of the city. He notified them, that the corporation had taken measures to provide a proper place as an hospital, for such persons as might unhappily become subjects of the fever in New York. In this letter the mayor declared his opinion clearly, that the intercourse with Philadelphia, could not be lawfully interrupted by any power in the state. The 12th appeared a proclamation from governor Clinton, which, referring to the "act to prevent the bringing in, and "spreading of infectious disorders," prohibited, in the terms of that act, all vessels from Philadelphia, to approach nearer to the city of New York, than Bedlow's island, about two miles distant, till duly discharged. The silence of this proclamation, respecting passengers by land, seemed to imply that the governor's opinion on the subject, was the same as that of the mayor.

The same day, at a meeting of the citizens, the necessity of taking some precautions was unanimously agreed upon, and a committee of seven appointed to report a plan to a meeting to be held next day. Their report, which was unanimously agreed to, the 13th, recommended to hire two physicians, to assist the physician of the port in his examination of vessels; to check, as much as possible, the intercourse by stages; to acquaint the proprietors of the southern stages, that it was the earnest wish of the inhabitants, that their carriages and boats should not pass during the prevalence of the disorder in Philadelphia; and to request the practitioners of physic to report, without fail, every case of fever, to which they might be called, occurring in any persons that had or might arrive from Philadelphia; or have intercourse with them. Not satisfied with these measures, the corporation, on the 17th, came to a resolution to stop



all intercourse between the two cities ; and for this purpose guards were placed at the different landings, with orders to send back every person coming from Philadelphia ; and if any were discovered to have arrived after that date, they were to be directly sent back. Those who took in lodgers, were called upon to give information of all people of the above description, under pain of being prosecuted according to law. All good citizens were required to give information to the mayor, or any member of the committee, of any breach in the premises.

These strict precautions being eluded by the fears and the vigilance of the fugitives from Philadelphia, on the 23d there was a meeting held, of delegates from the several wards of the city, in order to adopt more effectual measures. At this meeting, it was resolved to establish a night watch of not less than ten citizens in each ward, to guard against every attempt to enter under cover of darkness. Not yet eased of their fears, they next day published an address, in which they mentioned, that notwithstanding their utmost vigilance many persons had been clandestinely landed upon the shores of New York island. They therefore again called upon their fellow citizens to be cautious how they received strangers into their houses ; not to fail to report all such to the mayor immediately upon their arrival ; to remember the importance of the occasion ; and to consider what reply they should make to the just resentment of their fellow citizens, whose lives they might expose by a criminal neglect, or infidelity. They likewise declared their expectation, that those who kept the different ferries on the shores of New Jersey and Staten island, would pay such attention to their address, as not to transport any person but to the public landings, and that in the day time, between sun and sun. The 30th they published a lengthy address, recapitulating the various precautions they had taken—the nature of the disorder—and the numbers who had died out of Philadelphia, without communicating it to any one. They at the same time resolved, that goods, bedding,

and clothing, packed up in Philadelphia, should, previous to their being brought into New York, be unpacked and exposed to the open air in some well-ventilated place, for at least 48 hours ; that all linen or cotton clothes, or bedding, which had been used, should be well washed in several waters ; and afterwards, that the whole, both such as had been and such as had not been used, should be hung up in a close room, and well smoked with the fumes of brimstone for one day, and after that again exposed for at least twenty four hours to the open air ; and that the boxes, trunks, or chests, in which they had been packed, should be cleaned and aired in the same manner ; after which, being repacked, and such evidence given of their purification, as the committee should require, permission might be had to bring them into the city.

The 11th of October, they likewise resolved, that they would consider and publish to the world, as enemies to the welfare of the city, and the lives of its inhabitants, all those who should be so selfish and hardy, as to attempt to introduce any goods, wares, merchandize, bedding, baggage, &c. imported from, or packed up in Philadelphia, contrary to the rules prescribed by that body, who were, they said, deputed to express the will of their fellow citizens. They recommended to the inhabitants to withstand any temptation of profit, which might attend the purchase of goods in Philadelphia, as no emolument to an individual, they added, could warrant the hazard to which such conduct might expose the city. Besides all these resolves, they published daily statements of the health of the city, to allay the fears of their fellow citizens.

On the 14th of November, the committee resolved, that passengers coming from Philadelphia to New York, might be admitted, in future, together with their wearing apparel, without any restriction as to time, until further orders from the committee.

The 20th, they declared that they were happy to announce to their fellow citizens, that health was re-

stored to Philadelphia ; but that real danger was still to be apprehended from the bedding and clothing of those who had been ill of the malignant fever ; and that they had received satisfactory information, that attempts had been made to ship on freight considerable quantities of beds and bedding from Philadelphia for their city. They therefore resolved that it was inexpedient, to admit the introduction of beds or bedding of any kind, or feathers in bags, or otherwise ; also, second-hand wearing apparel of every species, coming from places infected with the yellow fever ; and that whosoever should attempt so high-handed an offence as to bring them in, and endanger the lives and health of the inhabitants, would justly merit their resentment and indignation.

The inhabitants of Trenton and Lamberton associated on the 13th of September, and on the 17th passed several resolutions to guard themselves against the contagion. They resolved that a total stop should be put to the landing of all persons from Philadelphia, at any ferry or place from Lamberton to Howell's ferry, four miles above Trenton ; that the intercourse by water should be prohibited between Lamberton, or the head of tide water, and Philadelphia ; and that all boats from Philadelphia, should be prevented from landing either goods or passengers any where between Bordentown and the head of tide water ; that no person whatever should be permitted to come from Philadelphia, or Kensington, while the fever continued ; that all persons who should go from within the limits of the association, to either of those places, should be prevented from returning during the continuance of the fever ; and finally, that their standing committee should enquire whether any persons, not inhabitants, who had lately come from places infected, and were therefore likely to be infected themselves, were within the limits of the association, and if so, that they should be obliged instantly to leave the said limits.

The 12th of September, the governor of Maryland published a proclamation, subjecting all vessels from Philadelphia to the performance of a quarantine, not

not exceeding forty days, or as much less as might be judged safe by the health officers. It further ordered, that all persons going to Baltimore, to Havre de Grace, to the head of Elk, or, by any other route, making their way into that state from Philadelphia, or any other place known to be infected with the malignant fever, should be subject to be examined, and prevented from proceeding, by persons to be appointed for that purpose, and who were to take the advice and opinion of the medical faculty in every case, in order that private affairs and pursuits might not be unnecessarily impeded. This proclamation appointed two health officers for Baltimore.

The people of Baltimore met the 13th of September, and resolved that none of their citizens should receive into their houses any persons coming from Philadelphia, or other infected place, without producing a certificate from the health officer, or officer of patrol; and that any person who violated that resolve, should be held up to public view, as a proper object for the resentment of the town. The 14th, a party of militia was dispatched to take possession of a pass on the Philadelphia road, about two miles from Baltimore, to prevent the entrance of any passengers from Philadelphia without license. Dr. Worthington, the health officer stationed at this pass, was directed to refuse permission to persons afflicted with any malignant complaint, or who had not been absent from Philadelphia, or other infected place, at least seven days. The western shore line of Philadelphia stages was stopped about the 18th or 19th.

The 30th, the committee of health resolved that no inhabitant of Baltimore, who should visit persons from Philadelphia, while performing quarantine, should be permitted to enter the town, until the time of quarantine was expired; and until it was certainly known that the persons he had visited were free from the infection; and that thenceforward no goods capable of conveying infection, that had been landed or packed up in Philadelphia, or other infected place, should be permitted to enter the town—nor should



any baggage of travellers be admitted, until it had been exposed to the open air such length of time as the health officer might direct.

C H A P. XI. *Proceedings at Havre de Grace—At Hagerstown—At Alexandria—At Winchester—At Boston—At Newburyport—In Rhode Island—At Newbern—At Charleston—In Georgia.—Fasting and prayer.*

THE 25th of September, the inhabitants of Havre de Grace resolved that no person should be allowed to cross the Susquehannah river at that town, who did not bring a certificate of his not having lately come from Philadelphia, or any other infected place; and that the citizens of Havre would embody themselves to prevent any one from crossing without such a certificate.

At Hagerstown, on the 3d of October, it was resolved, that no citizen should receive into his house any person coming from Philadelphia, supposed to be infected with the malignant fever, until he or she produced a certificate from a health officer; that should any citizen contravene the above resolution, he should be proscribed from all society with his fellow citizens; that the clothing sent to the troops then in that town, should not be received there, nor suffered to come within seven miles thereof; that if any person from Philadelphia, or other infected place, should arrive there, he should be required instantly to depart, and in case of refusal or neglect, be compelled to go without delay; that no merchant, or other person, should be suffered to bring into the town, or open therein, any goods brought from Philadelphia, or other infected place, until permitted by their committee; and that the citizens of the town, and its vicinity, should enrol themselves as a guard, and patrol such roads and passes as the committee should direct.

The governor of Virginia, on the 17th of September, issued a proclamation, ordering all vessels from Philadelphia, the Grenades, and the island of Tobago, to perform a quarantine of twenty days, at the an-

chorage ground, off Craney island, near the mouth of Elizabeth river.

The corporation of Alexandria stationed a look-out boat, to prevent all vessels bound to that port, from approaching nearer than one mile, until after examination by the health officer.

The people of Winchester placed guards at every avenue of the town leading from the Patomac, to stop all suspected persons, packages, &c. coming from Philadelphia, till the health officers should inspect them, and either forbid or allow them to pass.

The legislature of Massachusetts were in session, at the time the alarm spread ; and they accordingly passed an express act for guarding against the impending danger. This act authorized the selectmen in the different towns to stop and examine any persons, baggage, merchandize, or effects, coming or supposed to be coming into the towns respectively, from Philadelphia, or other place infected, or supposed to be infected ; and should it appear to them, or to any officers whom they should appoint, that any danger of infection was to be apprehended from such persons, effects, baggage, or merchandize, they were empowered to detain or remove the same to such place as they might see proper, in order that they might be purified from infection ; or to place any persons so coming, in such places, and under such regulations as they might judge necessary for the public safety. In pursuance of this act, the governor issued a proclamation to carry it into effect, the 21st of September.

The selectmen of Boston, on the 24th, published their regulations of quarantine, which ordered, that on the arrival of any vessel from Philadelphia, she should be detained at, or near Rainsford's Island, to perform a quarantine not exceeding thirty days, during which time she should be cleansed with vinegar, and the explosion of gunpowder between the decks and in the cabin, even though there were no sick persons on board ; that in case there were, they should be removed to an hospital, where they should be detained till they recovered or were long enough

to ascertain that they had not the infection; that every vessel, performing quarantine, should be deprived of its boat, and no boat suffered to approach it, but by special permission; that if any person should escape from vessels performing quarantine, he should be instantly advertised, in order that he might be apprehended; that any persons coming by land from Philadelphia, should not be allowed to enter Boston, until twenty one days after their arrival, and their effects, baggage, and merchandize should be opened, washed with vinegar, and fumigated with repeated explosions of gunpowder. In the conclusion, the selectmen called upon the inhabitants "to use their utmost vigilance and activity to bring to condign punishment, any person who should be so daring and lost to every idea of humanity, as to come into the town from any place supposed to be infected, thereby endangering the lives of his fellow men."

The 23d of September, the selectmen of Newburyport notified the pilots not to bring any vessels from Philadelphia, higher up Merrimack river, than the black rocks, until they should be examined by the health officer, and a certificate be obtained from him, of their being free from infection.

The governor of Rhode Island, the 21st of September, issued a proclamation, directing the town councils and other officers, to use their utmost vigilance to cause the law to prevent the spreading of contagious disorders to be most strictly executed, more especially with respect to all vessels which should arrive in that state, from the West Indies, Philadelphia, and New-York; the extension to the latter place was owing to the danger apprehended from the intercourse between it and Philadelphia.

The 28th of September, the governor of North Carolina published his proclamation, requiring the commissioners of navigation in the different ports of the said state, to appoint certain places, where all vessels from the port of Philadelphia, or any other place in which the malignant fever might prevail,

should perform quarantine for such number of days as they might think proper.

The commissioners of Newbern, on the 30th of September, ordered that until full liberty should be given, vessels arriving from Philadelphia, or any other place in which an infectious disorder might be, should, under a penalty of five hundred pounds, stop and come to anchor at least one mile below the town, and there perform a quarantine for at least ten days, unless their captains should produce from inspectors appointed for the purpose, a certificate that in their opinion the vessels might, with safety to the inhabitants, proceed to the town or harbour, and there land their passengers or cargo. The 18th of October, they ordered, that if any free man should go on board any vessel from Philadelphia, &c. or should bring from on board such vessel, any goods or merchandize, before she was permitted to land her cargo or passengers, he should, for every offence, forfeit five pounds; and if any slave should offend as above, he should be liable to be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes, and his master to pay five pounds.

The governor of S. Carolina, published a proclamation, subjecting Philadelphia vessels to quarantine, the date of which I cannot ascertain. The inhabitants of Charleston, on the 8th of October, had a meeting, at which they resolved, that no vessel from the river Delaware, either directly or after having touched at any other port of the united states, should be permitted to pass Charleston bar, till the citizens had again assembled, and declared themselves satisfied that the disorder had ceased in Philadelphia. If any vessel, contrary thereto, should cross the bar, the governor should be requested to compel it to quit the port, and return to sea.

The governor of Georgia, on the 4th of October, published a proclamation, ordering all vessels from Philadelphia, which should arrive in Savannah river, to remain in Tybee creek, or in other parts at like distance from the town, until the health officer of the port should, on examination, certify, that no malign



contravening this proclamation, were to be prosecuted, and subjected to the pains and penalties by law pointed out.

The people of Augusta, in that state, were as active and vigilant as their northern neighbours, to guard against the threatening danger.

The inhabitants of Reading, in this state, had a meeting the 24th of September, and passed sundry resolutions, viz. that no dry goods should be imported into that borough, from Philadelphia, or any other place infected with a malignant fever, until the expiration of one month from that date, unless permission was had from the inhabitants convened at a town meeting; that no persons from Philadelphia, or any other infected place, should be allowed to enter, until they should have undergone the examination of a physician, and obtained his opinion of their being free from infection; that no stage-waggon should be permitted to bring passengers from Philadelphia, or other place infected, into the borough; and that all communication, by stages, should be discontinued for one month, unless sooner permitted by the inhabitants.

At Bethlehem, a meeting was held on the 26th of September, at which it was resolved, that persons from Philadelphia, should perform a quarantine of twelve days, before their entrance into the town. A similar resolve was soon after entered into at Nazareth. But at neither place was it observed with any strictness. No guard was appointed. And the assertion of any decent traveller, apparently in health, with respect to the time of his absence from Philadelphia, was considered as sufficient to be relied on, without resorting to formal proof.

Various precautions were observed in other places; but I am not able to give a statement of them, not having procured an account of their resolves or proceedings.

The calamity of Philadelphia, while it roused the circumspection of the timid in various places, excited the pious to offer up their prayers to Almighty God for our relief, comfort, and support. Various days were appointed for humiliation, fasting, and prayer,

for this purpose. In New York, the 20th of September ; in Boston, September 26th ; in Albany, the 1st of October ; in Baltimore the 3d ; in Richmond, the 9th ; in Providence, the same day ; the synod of Philadelphia fixed on the 24th of October ; the protestant episcopal churches in Virginia, November 6 ; the Dutch synod of New York, November 13 ; the synod of New York and New Jersey, November 20. At Hartford, daily prayers were offered up for our relief for some time.

CHAP. XII. *Conflict between the law of self preservation and the law of charity. The law of charity victorious.*

WHILE our citizens were proscribed in several cities and towns—hunted up like felons in some—debarred admittance and turned back in others, whether sound or infected—it is with extreme satisfaction I have to record a conduct totally different, which cannot fail to make an indelible impression on the minds of the people of Philadelphia, and call forth the most lively emotions of gratitude.

At Woodbury, in New Jersey, at an early period of the disorder, a meeting was held for the purpose of determining on what steps were requisite to be taken. A motion was made to stop all intercourse with Philadelphia. But, four persons only having risen to support it, it dropped, and our citizens were allowed free entrance.

A respectable number of the inhabitants of Springfield, in New Jersey, met the first day of October, and after a full consideration of the distresses of our citizens, passed a resolve, offering their town as an asylum to the people flying from Philadelphia, and directing their committee to provide a suitable place as an hospital for the sick. The rev. Jacob V. Artsdalen, Matthias Meeker, and Matthias Denman, took the lead in this honourable business.

I have been informed, by a person of credit, that the inhabitants of Elizabeth town have pursued the same liberal plan, as those of Springfield ; but have not

been able to procure a copy of their resolves or proceedings on the subject.

At Chestertown in Maryland, a place was appointed, at a distance from the town, for the reception of such travellers and others, as might have the disorder. It was provided with every necessary—and a physician engaged to attend the sick.

An asylum has likewise been offered to Philadelphians, by several of the inhabitants of Elkton, in Maryland; and the offer was couched in terms of the utmost sympathy for our sufferings. A place on the same plan as that at Chester, was fitted up near the town.

At Easton, in Pennsylvania, the only precaution observed, was to direct the emigrants from Philadelphia, to abstain for a week from intercourse with the inhabitants.

The people of Wilmington have acted in the most friendly manner towards our distressed citizens. At first they were a little scared, and resolved on the establishment of a quarantine and guards. But they immediately dropped these precautions, and received the people from Philadelphia with the most perfect freedom. They erected an hospital for the reception of our infected citizens, which they supplied with necessaries. Yet of eight or ten persons from Philadelphia, who died in that town, with the malignant fever, only one was sent to the hospital. The others were nursed and attended in the houses where they fell sick. Humane, tender, and friendly, as were the worthy inhabitants of Wilmington in general, two characters have distinguished themselves in such a very extraordinary manner, as to deserve particular notice. These are doctor Way, and major Bush, whose houses were always open to the fugitives from Philadelphia, whom they received without the smallest apprehension, and treated with a degree of genuine hospitality, that reflects the highest honour on them. In the exercise of this virtue, they were not confined by a narrow regard to their particular friends or acquaintance—but entertained with equal humanity whole



families of persons who were utter strangers to them. This was of the more importance, and operated as a heavier tax on them, as, I believe, there was only one tavern keeper, Brinton, whose house was open for people from Philadelphia; and it was consequently so crowded in general, as frequently to render it difficult to procure admittance.

The instances of this kind, through this extensive country, have been very few; but they are therefore only the more precious, and ought to be held up to public approbation. May they operate on people, at a future day, in similar cases of dreadful calamity, and teach them to temper their caution with as much humanity and tenderness to the distressed fugitives, as prudence will allow—and not involve in one indiscriminate proscription the healthy and infected.

**C H A P. XIII.** *Disorder fatal to the doctors—to the clergy—to drunkards—to filles de joie—to maid servants—to the poor—and in close streets.—Less destructive to the French—and to the negroes.*

**R**ARELY has it happened, that so large a proportion of the gentlemen of the faculty have sunk beneath the labours of their very dangerous profession, as on this occasion. In five or six weeks, exclusive of medical students, no less than ten physicians have been swept off, doctors Hutchinson, Morris, Linn, Pennington, Dodds, Johnson, Glentworth, Phile, Graham, and Green. Scarcely one of the practising doctors that remained in the city, escaped sickness. Some were three, four, and five times confined.

To the clergy it has likewise proved very fatal. Exposed, in the exercise of the last duties to the dying, to equal danger with the physicians, it is not surprising that so many of them have fallen. Their names are, the rev. Alexander Murray, of the protestant episcopal church—the rev. F. A. Fleming and the rev. Laurence Graefsl of the Roman catholic—the rev. John Winkhaufe, of the German reformed—the



rev. James Sproat, of the presbyterian—the rev. William Dougherty, of the methodist church—and likewise four noted preachers of the Friends society, Daniel Ossley, Hufon Langstroth, Michael Minier, and Charles Williams. Seven clergymen have been in the greatest danger from this disorder, the rev. R. Blackwell, rev. Joseph Pilmore. rev. William Rogers, rev. Christopher V. Keating, rev. Frederic Schmidt, the rev. Joseph Turner, and the rev. Robert Annan; but they have all recovered.

Among the women, the mortality has not by any means been so great, as among the men\*, nor among the old and infirm as among the middle-aged and robust.

To tipplers and drunkards, and to men who lived high, and were of a corpulent habit of body, this disorder was very fatal. Of these, many were seized, and the recoveries were very rare.

To the *filles de joie*, it has been equally fatal. The wretched debilitated state of their constitutions, rendered them an easy prey to this dreadful disorder, which very soon terminated their miserable career.

To hired servant maids it has been very destructive. Numbers of them fled away—of those who remained, very many fell, who had behaved with an extraordinary degree of fidelity.

It has been dreadfully destructive among the poor. It is very probable, that at least seven eighths of the number of the dead, were of that class. The inhabitants of dirty houses have severely expiated their neglect of cleanliness and decency, by the numbers of them that have fallen sacrifices. Whole families, in such houses, have sunk into one silent, undistinguishing grave.

The mortality in confined streets, small allies, and close houses, debarred of a free circulation of air, has exceeded, in a great proportion, that in the large streets and well-aired houses. In some of the allies, a third

\* In many congregations, the deaths of men have been nearly twice as numerous as those of women.

or fourth of the whole of the inhabitants are no more. In 30 houses, the whole number in Pewter Platter alley, 32 people died : and in a part of Market-street, containing 170 houses, only 39. The streets in the suburbs that had the benefit of the country air, especially towards the west part of the city, have suffered little. Of the wide, airy streets, none lost so many people as Arch, near Water-street, which may be accounted for by its proximity to the original seat of the disorder. It is to be particularly remarked, that in general, the more remote the streets were from Water street, the less they experienced of the calamity.

From the effects of this disorder, the French newly settled in Philadelphia, have been in a very remarkable degree exempt†. To what this may be owing, is a subject deserving particular investigation\*. By some it has been ascribed to their despising the danger. But, though this may have had some effect, it will not certainly account for it altogether ; as it is well known that many of the most courageous persons in Philadelphia, have been among its victims. By many of the French, the great fatality of the disorder has been attributed to the vast quantities of crude and unwholesome fruits brought to our markets, and consumed by all classes of people.

When the yellow fever prevailed in South Carolina, the negroes, according to that accurate observer, dr. Lining, were wholly free from it. “ There is something very singular in the constitution of the negroes,” says he, “ which renders them not liable to this fever ; for though many of them were as much exposed as the nurses to this infection, yet I never knew one instance of this fever among them, though they are equally subject with the white peo-

† The French who had been long established here, were nearly as much affected as the natives.

\* The frequent use the French make of *lavements*, at all times, may probably account for their escaping so very generally as they did. These purify the bowels, help to discharge the foul matter, and remove costiveness, which is one of the most certain supports of this and other disorders.

“ple to the bilious fever\*.” The same idea prevailed for a considerable time in Philadelphia; but it was erroneous. They did not escape the disorder; however, there were scarcely any of them seized at first, and the number that were finally affected, was not great; and, as I am informed by an eminent doctor, “it yielded to the power of medicine in them more easily than in the whites.” The error that prevailed on this subject had a very salutary effect; for at an early period of the disorder, hardly any white nurses could be procured; and, had the negroes been equally terrified, the sufferings of the sick, great as they actually were, would have been exceedingly aggravated. At the period alluded to, the elders of the African church met, and offered their assistance to the mayor, to procure nurses for the sick, and to assist in burying the dead. Their offers were accepted; and Absalom Jones, Richard Allen, and William Gray, undertook the management of these two several services. The great demand for nurses afforded an opportunity for imposition, which was eagerly seized by some of the vilest of the blacks†. They extorted two, three, four, and even five dollars a night for such attendance, as would have been well paid by a single dollar. Some of them were even detected in plundering the houses of the sick. But it is unjust to cast a censure on the whole for this sort of conduct, as many people have done. The services of Jones, Allen, and Gray, and others of their colour, have been very great, and demand public gratitude.

On examining the books of the hospital at Bush-hill, it appears that there were nearly twenty blacks received there, of whom about three-fourths died.

\* Essays and observations, vol. II. page 407.

† The extortion here mentioned, was very far from being confined to the negroes; many of the white nurses behaved with equal rapacity.

**C H A P. XIII.** *State of the weather. Attempt to refute the opinion that cold and rain extinguished the disorder. Average table of mortality.*

**T**HE weather, during the whole of the months of August and September, and most part of October, was remarkably dry and sultry. Rain appeared as if entirely at an end. Various indications, which in scarcely any former instance had ever failed to produce wet weather, disappointed the expectations, the wishes, and the prayers of the citizens. The disorder raged with increased violence as the season advanced towards the fall months. The mortality was much greater in September, than in August—and still greater in the beginning and till the middle of October, than in September. It very particularly merits attention, that though nearly all the hopes of the inhabitants rested on cold and rain, especially the latter, yet the disorder died away with hardly any rain, and a very moderate degree of cold. Its virulence may be said to have expired on the 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th of October. The succeeding deaths were mostly of those long sick. Few persons took the disorder afterwards. Those days were nearly as warm as many of the most fatal ones, in the middle stage of the complaint, the thermometer being at 60, 59, 71, and 72. To account for this satisfactorily is above our feeble powers. In fact, the whole of the disorder, from its first appearance to its final close, has set human wisdom and calculation at defiance.

The idea held up in the preceding paragraph, has been controverted by many; and as the extinction of malignant disorders, generated in summer or the early part of fall, has been universally ascribed to the severe cold and heavy rains of the close of the fall, or the winter, it is asserted that ours must have shared the same fate. It therefore becomes necessary to state the reasons for the contrary opinion.

The extinction of these disorders, according to the generally-received idea on this subject, arises from cold,



or rain, or both together. If from the former, how shall we account for a greater mortality in September, than in August, whereas the degree of heat was considerably abated? How shall we account for a greater mortality in the first part of October than in September, although the heat was still abating? If rain be the efficient cause of arresting the disorder, as is supposed by those who attribute its declension to the rain on the evening of the 15th\* of October, how shall we account for the inefficacy of a constant rain during the whole terrible twelfth of October, when one hundred and eleven souls were summoned out of this world, and a hundred and four the day following? To make the matter more plain, I request the reader's attention to the following statement:—

Thermom.

		at 3 P. M. Deaths. Wind. Weather.			
Sept.	19	70	61	SW	fair.
	20	69	67	SE	hazy.
	21	78	57		fair.
	22	83	76		fair.
Oct.	10	74	93	NW	fair.
	11	74	119	W	fair.
	12	64	111	NW	rain.
	13	69	104	NW	fair.
	23	60	54	W	fair.
	24	59	38	NW	fair.
	25	71	35	S	fair, high wind.
	26	72	23	SW	cloudy.

An examination of this table, by any man unbiassed by the received opinion, will, I think, convince him of the justice of the hypothesis which I have advanced—that the increase or abatement of the violence of the disorder, depended on other causes than the degrees of heat, cold, rainy or dry weather. Here is the most palpable proof. The average of the thermometer, the four first quoted days, was  $75^{\circ}$ —the average of the deaths 65.5. The second four days, the thermometer averaged 70.25, although the frightful average of deaths was, 106.75. And on the last four

\* The rain on this evening was not by any means so great as that on the 12th.

days, the thermometer averaged 65.5, whereas the deaths were only 37.5. To facilitate the comparison, I subjoin an abstract of the preceding statement.

	therm.	deaths.
Average of Sept. 19, 20, 21, and 22,	75	65
of Oct. 10, 11, 12, and 13,	70.25	106.75
of Oct. 23, 24, 25, and 26,	65.5	37.5

Thus, those days on which the mortality was at its highest stage, were five degrees colder than those when the deaths had been only fiveeighths. And the difference of five degrees between the second and the third four days, will not be pretended to account for a decrease of very nearly two thirds. To try the system of heat, cold, and rain, still further, let us examine the four last days of August. On those days the thermometer averaged 79.5; yet the deaths were only 20.75.

I here annex the weekly average of the thermometer and of the deaths, from the first of August to the 7th of November, for the reader's inspection\*.

		Average of thermometer.	Average of deaths.
August	1 to 7,	84	9
	8 to 14,	85	7
	15 to 21,	83	7
	22 to 28,	77	15
	29 to 31,	85	17
Sept.	1 to 7,	81	19
	8 to 14,	74	35
	15 to 21,	75	65
	22 to 28,	76	70
	29 and 30,	74	60
Oct.	1 to 7,	71	72
	8 to 14,	71	100
	15 to 21,	58	67
	22 to 28,	58	39
	29 to 31,	46	18
Nov.	1 to 7,	58	15

From the above table it appears, that during the

\* When the fractions exceed half, an unit is added; when they are below half, they are rejected.

month of September, there was a rapid increase regularly of deaths, except on the 29th and 30th, although the weather was growing cooler nearly the whole time. Let any advocate of the theory of cold and rain, compare the first week in September with the second week in October. He will see that the former was ten degrees warmer than the latter, yet the mortality of the one, was only a fifth part of the other. If he will, after this, say that the difference of 13 degrees between the second week in October and the 3d and 4th, will account for a reduction of the mortality from 100 to 67, and then to 39, I can only answer, that an inveterate prejudice too often clouds the reason, and renders it impossible to see the truth, however evident.

In opposition to what I have advanced, it has been observed, that the unfavourable effects of very sultry days were felt for several succeeding ones. This is a weak resource, as will appear from examining the table. The heat of the first and second weeks in October was the same: yet the mortality in the second was nearly one half more than in the first. The heat of the fourth was equal to that of the third, although in the former the deaths were nearly double what they were in the latter.

I hope, therefore, the reader will acknowledge, that the Great Disposer of winds and rains, took his own time, and without the means, either moral or physical, on which we placed our chief reliance, to rescue the remnant of us from destruction.

#### C H A P. XV.—*Origin of the disorder.*

THIS disorder has most unquestionably been imported from the West Indies. As yet, however, owing to various obvious reasons, it is difficult to fix, with absolute precision, on the vessel or vessels, (for it is very probable it came in several, from the different infected islands) by which it was introduced. That it is an imported disorder, rests on the following reasons, each of which, singly, justifies the theory, but

all, collectively, establish it to the satisfaction of every candid and reasonable man.

1st. The yellow fever existed in several of the West India islands a long time before its appearance here\*.

2d. Various vessels from those islands arrived here in July.

3d. Scarcely any precautions were used to guard against the disorder.

4th. A respectable citizen of Philadelphia, supercargo of one of our vessels, saw, in July, six or seven people sick of this fever on board a brig at Cape François bound for our port†.

5th. A vessel from Cape François, which arrived here in July, lost several of her people with this fever, on her passage.

\* *Extract from a London paper, of August 13, 1793.*

“ The plague, brought from Bulam, which first made its appearance at Grenada, has spread most alarmingly. Eighty persons died in one day at Grenada of this epidemic. The hurricane months just coming on, are not likely to make it less violent in its effects.”

“ [It appears by a subsequent paragraph in the same paper, that the disease was ascertained to be the yellow fever.] ”

*Extract from the Courier, a London paper, of August 24.*

“ Before the fleet left Antigua so great was the apprehension entertained there of the plague, that all vessels from Grenada, were obliged to perform quarantine; and all letters from the latter island, were smoaked at the former. The infection was reported to have reached Dominica.”

*Extract from the Observer, a London paper, of August 25.*

“ The plague, we are distressed to hear, has made its appearance in several of our West India islands. At Grenada, and Dominica, the symptoms are said to be highly alarming.”

*Extract from a Kingston paper, of October 12.*

“ The islands of Barbadoes and Dominica continue to be afflicted with a malignant fever; about 300 white inhabitants have perished in the former, and near 500 in the latter.”

† To any enquirer I am ready to communicate the name of the supercargo, and the name of the brig.



6th. A person from Cape François, died of this fever at Marcus Hook†—and another at Chester§.

7th. The vessels in which those persons arrived, and which were infected with the effluvia of the sick and dead, came freely to our wharves, and particularly to that very one where the disorder made its first appearance.

8th. Persons sick of the yellow fever have been landed in our city from vessels arrived from the West Indies\*.

9th. Dead bodies have been seen deposited secretly on board some of those vessels.

10th. There is the strongest reason to believe, that the beds and bedding of the sick and dead were not destroyed, but, on the contrary, brought into our city.

11th. This disorder had every characteristic symptom that marked it on former occasions, when its importation was unquestioned.

Lastly, Of all the reasons advanced to support the opinion of its having been generated here, the only one, that has even the appearance of plausibility, viz. the influence of a tropical season, such as we had last summer, is unanswerably refuted by the concurring testimony of Lind, Lining, Warren, and Bruce, who, in the most unequivocal manner, have declared that it does not depend on the weather.

“ It does not appear, from the most accurate observations of the variations of the weather, or any difference of the seasons, which I have been able to make for several years past, that this fever is *any way caused*, or much influenced by them; for I have seen it *at all times*, and in *all seasons*, in the

† I do hereby declare, that I was at Marcus Hook late in July, when a woman, who had been landed there from one of the vessels lately from Cape François, died; that I was informed by a French person, a neighbour, that she died of the yellow fever; that this person burned a quantity of tar at the door, for the purpose, as he informed me, of purifying the air.

JOHN MASSEY.

§ My information of the death of this person is derived from a letter written by dr. William Martin to dr. Currie.

\* Major Hodgdon and others can testify to the truth of this.

“ *coolest, as well as in the hottest time of the year.*”\*

“ This fever *does not* seem to take its origin from any particular constitution of the weather, independent of infectious miasmata, *as dr. Warren has formerly well observed*; for within these twenty-five years, it has been only four times epidemic in this town, namely in the autumns of the years 1732, 39, 45, and 48, though none of those years, (excepting that of 1739, whose summer and autumn were remarkably rainy) were either warmer or more rainy, (and some of them less so) than the summers and autumns were in several other years, in which we had not one instance of any one seized with this fever: which is contrary to what would have happened, *if particular constitutions of the weather, were productive of it, without infectious miasmata*†.”

“ In *omni anni tempestate*, sese effert hic morbus; symptomata autem graviora observantur, ubi calor magnus cum multa humiditate conjungitur‡.”

# CHAP. XVI. *Desultory facts and reflexions. A collection of scraps*.\*.

THE want of a lazaretto, whither persons labouring under contagious disorders, might be sent, and of a proper law on the subject, empowering the civil authority to interpose with the necessary energy,

\* Hillary on diseases of Barbadoes, page 146.

† Lining, Essays and observations, political and literary, vol. II. page 406.

‡ Bruce, quoted by Lind on hot climates, 237.

§ This and the succeeding chapter calls for some apology. Many of the anecdotes herein related, are of little importance, except from their having a tendency to reflect light on the state of the public mind during a time in which men were most completely taken by surprise. Considering the subject in this point of view, hardly any occurrence, of so eventful a period, ought to be suffered to sink in oblivion. Some, of a ludicrous turn, are introduced as a relief to the sombre complexion of a narrative, in which the predominant characters are death and destruction, and a cold regard for self alone.

at the first inroad of such a dreadful destroyer, has been the cause of our late sufferings ; for, humanly speaking, had decisive measures been adopted any time before the first of September, while the disorder existed only in one street, and in a few houses in that street, there can be little doubt, that it might have been very soon extinguished. But the former sufferings of this place in 1762, were soon forgotten—and no steps taken to provide for the removal of such an evil in future, after it should invade the city. It is to be hoped our legislature, as well as that of every state in the union, will see the propriety of giving this important subject the consideration it so amply deserves, and of making provision against like calamities in future. In Italy, at Spalato, where the plague raged fifteen or twenty years ago, if the infected did not reveal their situation to the proper authority, they were subjected to capital punishment ; and the same penalty was denounced against such as did not inform of infected persons, when they knew of them. This is too severe for the paternal mildness of our criminal code ; but some penalties ought to be denounced in such cases. Indeed, were lazarettoes on a proper establishment, it would be an object of desire with the sick, to be transported to them.



It is hardly conceivable that the funeral of entire strangers could afford subject of satisfaction. Yet they have produced that effect. After being so long accustomed to behold the bodies of the dead, drawn to the grave on the shafts of a chair, the sight of a corpse carried by men to be interred, afforded something like the appearance of former times ; and I believe the satisfaction excited by that consideration absorbed every thought of the deceased.



The appearance of most of the grave yards in Philadelphia is extremely awful. They exhibit a strong likeness of ploughed fields ; and were any thing capable

of stamping on our breasts indelible impressions of the uncertainty of the tenure by which we hold our very precarious existence, a turn though one of our burial grounds could not possibly fail to produce that effect. But it is to be feared, that with the danger will vanish all recollection of the distressing scenes we have passed through.



It has been denied that a person is twice susceptible of the yellow fever. The opinion, as it has a good tendency, to inspire confidence in convalescents, and in those who have quite recovered, might perhaps as well be suffered to pass uncontroverted, were not truth the object. Several persons in this city, have been twice sick with this disorder. I know it is usual to call this a relapse. But relapse or not, those people whom I mean, have been ill—have recovered entirely—and been a second time taken down. Some of them are now no more, witness Mr. Fleming. Mr. William Young was worse the second time than the first.



One observation, of great importance to the cause of humanity, escaped me in the former editions, and ought to be very particularly attended to in every such dreadful crisis as we have experienced. Of the very large number of persons who have fallen under this disorder, it is not improbable that a half or a third have perished merely for want of necessary care and attention, owing to the extraordinary panic. Almost all the remarkable cases of recovery are to be ascribed, under providence, to the fidelity of husbands, wives, children, and servants, who braved the danger, and determined to obey the dictates of humanity. There are various instances of persons who may be said to have been by these means snatched from the grasp of death; having been so far reduced, as to have their coffins made.—And for the encouragement of those who may, at any other time, or in any other place, have friends or relatives in this disorder, let it be



remarked, that few of those who discharged their duty to their families, have suffered by it. There are instances of individuals, who have nursed and attended on six, eight and ten persons unremittingly, in their own houses, without ever taking the infection. Others, before their own illness, and after their recovery, nursed and restored their families. William Young had no less than ten in his house sick, and nearly all at one time. He attended on them till he was taken ill; and, during his sickness, gave directions for the management of them, as effectually as if he was well. After his recovery, he again attended them himself. Of his whole family, his wife only died; and it is supposed her death was accelerated by her being in an advanced stage of pregnancy. There are cases of single persons having the disorder in large families of eight, ten, and twelve, and none catching it from them. In the family of David Clarke, who died of the malignant fever, there were no less than twenty-two persons, not one of whom caught the infection, altho' he had the same attention paid him by all his family, as if he had been in any other disorder. Not one of the carters employed by the committee in the very dangerous office of removing the sick and burying the dead, ever had it\*. The nurses at Bush-hill have all escaped, except two; as have the worthy managers. Thomas Boyles, the tenant, who occupied the building at Bushhill, at the time it was taken as an hospital, that is, the 31st of August, lived there until

\* Let not the humble sphere of life in which he moves, prevent me from here mentioning a worthy and faithful man, Thomas Wilkinson, employed by the committee, in burying the dead, and removing the sick, from their organization till the extinction of the disorder. Such was the noxious situation of many dead bodies, that he frequently returned vomiting from the performance of his duty. In one instance, in raising the corpse of a woman several days dead, he was covered with putrescent blood. Yet he still persevered in the most unwearied manner, through dangers, that render his preservation equally astonishing with that of Girard, Helm, Helmuth, Mrs. Saville, and others. It is to be hoped the corporation will find some comfortable situation for him, in which to pass the remainder of his days.

the 29th of October, with his wife and six children, none of whom were ever affected with the malignant fever. Let these instances suffice at all future times to prevent fear from totally overpowering the understanding, and producing scenes of cruelty that make a feeling being blush for his species.



Among the country people, large quantities of wild pigeons in the spring are regarded as certain indications of an unhealthy summer. Whether or not this prognostic has ever been verified before, I cannot tell. But it is very certain, that during the last spring, the numbers of those birds brought to market, were immense. Never, perhaps, were there so many before.



Several classes of people were highly benefited by the public distress. Coffin-makers had full employment, and in general high prices for their work. Most of the retail stores being shut up, those that remained open, had an uncommon demand; as the whole of the business was divided among a few. Those who had carriages to hire, to transport families to the country, received whatever they pleased to require. The holders of houses at from three, to twenty miles from the city, who chose to rent the whole or part of them, had high rents. The two notaries, who protested for the banks, profited highly by the absence of the merchants and traders.



I have learned with great pleasure, that a few landlords, commiserating the distresses of their tenants, have come to the very humane resolution of remitting the payment of rents due during the prevalence of the disorder. Were they to enter into resolutions generally to do the same, it would reflect honour on them. But there are some, whose hardened hearts know no compassion, and who will have "the pound of flesh—the penalty of the bond." Indeed, when the disorder was at the highest stage, some landlords

seized the small property of poor roomkeepers, who were totally unable to pay their rent. A man wrote to the committee, informing them that the poverty of his tenants rendered it impossible for them to pay him ; he therefore begged the committee would, as they were appointed to relieve the poor, pay the arrears due him ! Another person, a wealthy widow, procured recommendations for some poor roomkeepers, her tenants ; and the committee gave them each a small sum. As soon as they had received it, she seized the money and their clothes !

A man lost his wife with the disorder. He had it himself, lost his sight totally, and was left penniless, with two infant children. Yet his landlord, before his convalescence was complete, seized his clothes and furniture, and turned him out of doors !!!

“ You may as well use question with the wolf,  
 “ Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb,  
 “ As seek to soften that (than which what’s harder ?)  
 “ His flinty heart.” ————— SHAKESPEARE.



I hope the reader takes more pleasure in perusing cases reflecting honour on human nature, than those of a different description. An amiable woman in New York, feeling for the situation of the numerous orphans in this city, wrote to a member of the committee, to choose her one of them, as nearly resembling a child she had lost, as possible. She particularly desired one without connexions, if such could be procured. She proposes to adopt it, and, with her husband, to bestow on it all the tenderness one of her own would have had. Would it not be unjust to withhold her name ? Every reader answers, yes—and I will therefore reveal it---Susan Willet. Several applications of a similar nature have been made by some of our own citizens.



In the summer of 1791, the yellow fever prevailed in New York, in a part of Water-street, and in proportion to the sphere of its action, was as fatal there as



it has been here. It began in August, and continued till the middle of September, when it totally disappeared, and has never since visited that place. This should ease the fears of many among us, who, always viewing the black side of every thing, terrify people with their prognostications, that we shall have it again next spring or summer. All the symptoms were full as dangerous and alarming in New York, as in Philadelphia. Many persons died in three days; "stupor, delirium, "yellowness, the black vomit, and death, rapidly succeeding each other."† It spread no farther at that time, than the one street, although no precautions, as far as I can learn, were taken to prevent its extension. The same species of disorder raged in this city in 1762, with great violence. It disappeared in the month of November, and has not from that time until this year visited Philadelphia,



The summer and fall of this year have been unhealthy in many parts of the union, as well as in Philadelphia. At Lynn, in Massachusetts, I have been informed, but have no means of ascertaining the truth or falsehood of the report, that a malignant fever, not unlike ours, prevailed in August. In many of the towns of Virginia, intermittent fevers have been much more prevalent and mortal than they have been at former periods. Georgetown and its vicinity, which are in general very healthy, lost, in the course of a few weeks in summer, an unexampled number of people by the flux, which disorder has raged with great violence in many parts of America. The influenza has generally spread through the union, and been very fatal. It has been twice in Vermont, where likewise the putrid fore throat has carried off numbers. At Harrisburg and Middletown, in this state, the flux and a putrid fever have been extremely destructive, and swept away, I am credibly informed, a fifteenth

† Letter from a physician in New York, to his friend in New Jersey. Federal Gazette, Sept. 21, 1793.



part of the inhabitants. Delaware state, particularly Kent county, has suffered much from fall fevers, which have produced a very great mortality. At Dover, in the same state, a bilious colic raged with great violence, during last summer, and was extremely fatal. At Pauling's Kill, in Suffex county, New Jersey, a bilious and remittent fever has made very great havoc. And various other places have experienced a mortality, very uncommon, and which, but for the calamity of Philadelphia absorbing public attention every where, and being the standard of comparison, would have created great alarms and uneasiness.



Of the number of citizens who fled away, it is difficult to form any accurate estimate. In the city, from Vine to South street, which has been surveyed by a man employed by the committee, of 21,000 inhabitants, the number of absent people is stated to be 8600. But as this business was several weeks performing, considerable variations must necessarily have taken place. The emigration was not finished in those streets examined in the early part of his progress,—and towards the latter part, the returns had been already considerable. One may be supposed to balance the other, and the removals in the liberties to have been equal to those in the city. We shall therefore probably not err much, when we estimate the number who left the city at about 17,000. This is not so many as I formerly supposed, having estimated them at 23,000. Which of the two is accurate, or whether either of them is so, I leave the reader to determine.



The effect of fear in predisposing the body for the yellow fever and other disorders, and increasing their malignance, when taken, is well known. The following exception to the general rule, which may be depended on, is curious and interesting. A young woman, whose fears were so very prevalent, as not only to render her unhappy from the commencement of the disorder, but even to interfere with the happiness

of the family with whom she lived, had to attend on seven persons, all of whom were in a very dangerous state, and one of whom died. Her attendance was assiduous and unremitted for nearly three weeks. Yet she has never been in the slightest degree affected.



The watches and clocks in this city, during the disorder, were almost always wrong. Hardly any of the watchmakers remained—and few people paid attention how time passed. One night, the watchmen cried ten o'clock when it was only nine, and continued the mistake all the succeeding hours.



The Hope, a vessel from Londonderry, arrived in our river towards the end of August. The passengers had a malignant disorder among them, in consequence of which, orders were issued to have them landed at State Island, that they might undergo examination. Nevertheless, several of them came to the city, and added to the dangers already existing. The mayor, on the 3d of September, issued a proclamation, calling upon the citizens not only to use their endeavours to detect such as had arrived, and to prevent others from coming, without procuring the proper certificates; but to make report to one of the magistrates, of the names of those by whom they were harboured, that they might be prosecuted according to law. On this subject an obvious reflexion arises, which I will not suppress. Our citizens have generally been in the habit of severely censuring the inhabitants of those places in which very strict precautions were taken, to prevent the spreading of the disorder that prevailed here; and yet we see that our own conduct, in a case nearly similar, has not been very different. I would not wish to be understood as if I meant to justify the whole of the proceedings that took place every where; far from it; some of them have been to the last degree severe, and unnecessarily so; for all the cautions requisite, were compatible with a small

degree of attention to the comfort and convenience of fellow citizens, in good health, travelling for business, for pleasure, or the preservation of health, and even of life.—Whereas in many places it would appear as if the harshest mode of carrying harsh measures into effect, was purposely adopted. My intention is merely to show, that such as indiscriminately vilify those who have resorted to precautions dictated by prudence, do not weigh the matter in the scales of impartial justice.



Governor Moultrie's proclamation, announcing the existence of the malignant fever in the Grenadas, &c. and ordering a quarantine, is dated the 7th of June.



Some of the postmasters, in the different states, used the precaution to dip Philadelphia letters into vinegar with a pair of tongs, before they handled them. Several of the subscribers for Philadelphia papers, made their servants sprinkle them with vinegar, and dry them at the fire, before they would venture to touch them.



Joseph Inskip attended several sick persons in a family near him. When he was ill himself, he wanted assistance\*, and sent for some of them to attend him—but they ungratefully refused! O Shame! where is thy blush?



Many of our citizens who fled from the city, neglected or forgot to leave their servants money enough for their support; so that some of these poor creatures had to depend for sustenance on the charity of their neighbours.



Some of our unemployed tradesmen wished to procure work at the new roads now making. But the

\* His wife was ill at the same time.

people who were employed, agreed, that if they were engaged, that they would all abandon their work; so that the overseers were obliged to renounce the idea.



The incautious security of the citizens of Philadelphia, at the first stage of the disorder, is highly to be regretted. Most of those who died of the malignant disorder, before the 26th of August, were carried to burial with the accustomed parade of attendants which so generally prevails in this city. The chief of the persons who at that time carried the dead to the grave, and several of those who attended the funerals, were speedily taken sick, and hurried into eternity.



Sebastian Ale, an old grave-digger, who had long lost the sense of smelling, fancied he could not take the disorder, and followed his business without apprehension. A husband and his wife who lay sick together, wished to be interred in the same grave. Their deaths happened within a few days of each other. When the latter of the two was to be buried, Sebastian was employed to dig open the other's grave. He struck upon and broke the coffin, and in stooping down, received into his mouth such an intolerable and deadly stench, that he was taken sick immediately, and in a day or two died.



The scourge of the yellow fever has fallen with extreme severity on some families. There are various instances of five and six, and some of eight, ten, and of Godfrey Gebler's family no less than eleven were swept off the face of the earth. Dr. Sproat, his wife, son, and daughter—Michael Hay, his wife, and three children—David Flickwir and five of his family—Samuel Weatherby, wife, and four grown children, are no more. And there are numberless instances of a havoc equally great in particular families. There is one house in this city, from which above twenty per-



sions were carried, some to Bushhill, but the most of them to the grave.



There is one fact respecting this disorder, which renders it probable, that the exercise of the duties of humanity towards the fugitive Philadelphians, would not have been attended with the danger universally imagined. In defiance of all the resolutions entered into by the inhabitants of various towns, many of our infected citizens evaded their vigilance, and took refuge among them; and in very few cases is it known that they communicated the infection.—Three persons died of this disorder, in one house near Woodbury, in New Jersey; they had been attended during their illness, by the family, none of whom caught the disease. Six or seven died at Darby, as many at Germantown, and eight at Haddonfield, without communicating it to any of the inhabitants. A man from Philadelphia, of the name of Cornell, died in New York, about two days after his arrival. The place of his death was a boarding house, in which were several boarders, one of whom slept in the same bed with him. Two of the family only were slightly affected—but not in such a degree as to require medical aid. Several other infected persons from our city, died there, and no one caught the infection from them. A man died at one of the principal taverns in Baltimore, of the same disorder. Many people had visited and attended him during the whole of his illness, without injury. No person was affected but his doctor, whose indisposition was not of long continuance. A great number of similar instances have occurred at Burlington, Bordenton, Lambertton, Princeton, Brunswick, Woodbridge, Newark, Lancaster, and various other places.

Since the first edition appeared, I have had information from a number of creditable persons, that the idea that the disorder has not been communicated out of Philadelphia, is erroneous. A family, of the name of Hopper, near Woodbury, took it from some of our infected citizens, and three of them died. A woman

in Chester county, who had boarded and lodged some of the sick, died of the malignant fever. Three people, of one family in Trenton, took it from a sick person from Philadelphia, and died of it. A negro servant belonging to Mr. Morgan, of Pensaucon creek, in New Jersey, took up an infected bed floating in the Delaware, which spread the disorder in the family, and Mrs. Morgan and her girl both died of it. It was introduced by his son from Philadelphia, into the family of Mr. Cadwallader, at Abington, some of whom died with it. Some others in different places caught the infection, and died. But the cases of this kind have been extremely few, considering the numbers, who carried the disorder from hence, and died with it in the country.

C H A P. XVII. *Another collection of scraps.*

THOSE who reflect on the many shocking cases of cruelty and desertion of friends and relations which occurred in Philadelphia, however they may regret, cannot be surprised, that in the country, and in various towns and cities, inhumanity should be experienced by Philadelphians, from strangers. The universal consternation extinguished in people's breasts the most honourable feelings of human nature; and in this case, as in various others, the suspicion operated as injuriously as the reality. Many travellers from this city, exhausted with fatigue and with hunger, have been refused shelter and sustenance, and have fallen victims to the fears, not to the want of charity, of those to whom they applied for relief\*. Instances of this kind have occurred on almost every road leading from Philadelphia. People under suspicion of having this disorder, have been forced by their fellow travellers to quit the stages, and perished in the woods without a possibility of procuring any assistance. At Easton, in Maryland, a waggon-load of goods from Philadel-

\* The fugitive Philadelphians were in general as strict in their precautions against them who fled later than they, as any of the country people.

phia was actually burned ; and a woman, who came with it, was, it is said, tarred and feathered !



In a town in Jersey, an association was entered into to prevent all intercourse with Philadelphia, and the inhabitants agreed to mount guard, alternately. One man, who was principled against this severity, refused to do duty, or join in the combination. He was advertised, and all people forbidden to have any communication with him—indeed he was absolutely refused the necessaries of life—a butcher, who passed his door, told him, when applied to for provisions, that he had meat enough, but none for him. Having gone, for a short time, from home, in the direction towards Philadelphia, but not within thirty miles of the city, the centinel on duty stopped him on his return—and he persisting in his determination to proceed, the other presented his firelock, and it is supposed would have shot him, but for the interference of a third person.

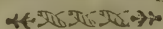


The son of a citizen of Philadelphia arrived at a town in Virginia fourteen days before the time of fixing the quarantine, which was for twenty days. However, he was still obliged to undergo the full quarantine after that time, which made thirty-four days, exclusive of above six days spent on the road.



An emigrant from Philadelphia, who had been away nearly three weeks, had to cross a ferry in a neighbouring state, and was provided with proper certificates of the length of time he was absent. He got into the scow, with his wife, and carriage, and was rowed over to the opposite side. There he was refused permission to land, as he had not a certificate from a particular magistrate in that part of the country. He leaped out of the scow, on a rock, and the centinel swore he would blow his brains out, if he advanced a step farther. His wife, who was in the boat, was under the most dreadful apprehensions, as the ferrymen were drunk, the horses in the carriage

fictful, and the wind high. In spite of his intreaties, and his offers to prove the length of his absence, he was obliged to return in quest of the magistrate pointed out. When he arrived at his house, which was several miles from the ferry, the justice concealed himself, though fear of catching the disorder. He then went to another, some miles further back. By the time he returned to the ferry, it was nine o'clock, and he had to wait till next morning.



A poor man was taken sick on the road at a village not far from Philadelphia. He lay calling for water, a considerable time in vain. At length, an old woman brought a pitcher full, and not daring to approach him, she laid it at a distance, desiring him to crawl to it, which he did. After lying there about forty-eight hours, he died; and the body lay in a state of putrefaction for some time, until the neighbours hired two black butchers to bury him, for twenty-four dollars. They dug a pit to windward—with a fork, hooked a rope about his neck---dragged him into it---and, at as great a distance as possible, cast earth into the pit to cover him.



One of our citizens lost his brother in the country with the malignant fever; and, owing to the fears of the neighbours, could not prevail on any person even to make him a coffin. He was obliged to wrap him up in a blanket, to dig a grave for him, and bury him with his own hands.



In a small town not far distant from Philadelphia, very arbitrary attempts were unfeelingly made to oblige one of our fugitives to mount guard against his own fellow citizens. He refused; and finding him resolute against every effort, they were obliged to desist.



In one of the American ports, a Philadelphia vessel, just arrived, was forced to return to sea with only



two gallons of water for each man. In the same port, one of the captains from our city had his boat stove to pieces.



The 17th of September, the western shore Baltimore stage was stopped about two miles from that town, by an armed guard. The hour of arrival was about eight o'clock at night. There was a tavern at pistol-shot from the place. But the tavern keeper refused to receive the passengers, twelve in number. They were detained on the road all night without any shelter but the stage, in which they dozed a part of the night; during the remainder of it, they lay before a fire which they had kindled in the woods. Next morning, the tavern-keeper, one Murray, an inhuman Goth, when they sent to him for breakfast, refused to give them any. But about two hours afterwards, he let them have some bread, cheese, wine, and cider, with which they breakfasted on the road. In this situation they remained until the afternoon, that is, for eighteen hours. A captain in the French navy, with his wife, and several French gentlemen, were among the passengers.



A respectable citizen of Philadelphia left the city on the 17th of September, intending to reside on Long Island till the disorder ceased. He was taken ill on the road—and prevented from proceeding, near Newark. He took lodgings at a captain Littel's near Second river. The alarm spread of an infected man being in the house—the neighbours assembled—fixed a fence on each side of Littel's house, and obliged the people to remove out of a house near to it, which the fence likewise enclosed. The road and river lay before Littel's door; the former was entirely cut off by the fence, which run clear to the river. At the distance of a hundred yards, was a church, in which public worship was intermitted for three or four weeks, through fear. Travellers took a circuitous route of above a mile, to avoid danger.

At length he died—and his son, about nine years old, had to assist in performing the last melancholy rites for him. The fence remained for ten days after his death, to ascertain whether or not his family had taken the disorder.

Justice requires me to add, that they were not suffered to be in want of any necessaries. They were directed to write what they had occasion for, on a paper and fasten it on the fence. Persons were appointed to supply them with whatever was requisite.



An artful girl, just from Philadelphia, completely deceived the centinel stationed near Bordentown. She asked him, with much earnestness, as if afraid to venture in, was *that there* confounded yellow fever got into the town?—"No," says he, "you may go in with as much safety as to your own home." I need not add, that she went forward.



A Philadelphian, in a small town near this city, lost his child in the fever, and went to bury it. On his return, he found all his furniture on the road, and the doors locked : and no intreaties could again procure him admittance.



When tar was in use among the various preventatives, a boy was determined to secure himself by night as well as by day ; and accordingly tied a tarred rope twice about his neck, and afterwards buttoned his collar with some difficulty. He woke in the night, half strangled, and black in the face. He may with justice be said to have nearly choked himself, to save his life.



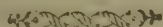
It would be extraordinary if so very favourable an opportunity of inventing marvellous stories, should have been suffered to pass over without some prodigies being recorded. Mankind are ever prone to the

extravagant, especially when their passions are warmed. And pity and terror, two passions particularly calculated to foster this disposition, being roused into action to the highest degree, the marvellous stories, which were every where current, and which even stole into print, can be easily accounted for. Some of the Maryland papers relate, that “ a voice had been heard in the streets of Philadelphia, warning the inhabitants to prepare for their doom, as written in the prophet Ezekiel, ch. 27.” The Marylander who heard this voice, was certainly gifted with a most extraordinary ear, as, at the distance of above a hundred miles, he heard what we could not hear on the spot. And it would appear that his *sight* was equally good with his hearing; for he *saw* two angels conversing with the watch. It is true, he is too modest to say, he saw them himself—he only says “ two angels were *seen* conversing with the watch at midnight, about the subject of what the voice had previously proclaimed.” But no person here having ever seen them—it is fairly presumable, as it would be highly criminal to doubt of facts resting on such authority, that he must have been the eye-witness himself.

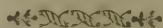


A merchant of Philadelphia, who had been absent for several weeks, was returning to the city in the second week of November, having heard that the danger was no more. He met a man on the road going from Philadelphia; and naturally enquired into the state of affairs. The other told him, that a coffin maker, who had been employed by the committee for relief of the sick, had found such a decrease of demand two weeks before, that he had a large supply of coffins on hand; but that the mortality had again so far increased, that he had sold all, and had seven journeymen employed day and night. This so alarmed the Philadelphian, that he again returned with his family, to wait a more favourable issue.

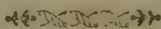
A drunken sailor lay in the street, in the northern liberties, for a few hours asleep, and was supposed by the neighbours to be dead with the disorder; but they were too much afraid, to make personal examination. They sent to the committee at the city hall for a cart and a coffin. The carter took the man by the heels, and was going to put him into the coffin. Handling him roughly, he awoke, and damning his eyes, asked him what he was about? the carter let him drop in a fright, and ran off as if a ghost was at his heels.



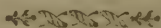
A lunatic, who had the malignant fever, was advised, by his neighbours, to go to Bushhill. He consented, and got into the cart; but soon changing his mind, he slipped out at the end, unknown to the carter, who, after a while, missing him, and seeing him at a distance running away, turned his horse about, and trotted hard after him. The other doubled his pace; and the carter whipped his horse to a gallop; but the man turned a corner, and hid himself in a house, leaving the mortified carter to return, and deliver an account of his ludicrous adventure.



Several instances have occurred of the carters on their arrival at Bushhill, and proceeding to deliver up their charge, finding, to their amazement, the carts empty.



A woman, whose husband died, refused to have him buried in a coffin provided for her by one of her friends, as too paltry and mean. She bought an elegant and costly one—and had the other laid by in the yard. In a week, she was herself a corpse—and was buried in the very coffin she had so much despised.



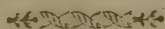
The wife of a man who lived in Walnut-street; was seized with the malignant fever, and given over by the doctors. The husband abandoned her, and



next night lay out of the house for fear of catching the infection. In the morning, taking it for granted, from the very low state she had been in, that she was dead, he purchased a coffin for her; but on entering the house, was surprised to see her much recovered. He fell sick shortly after, died, and was buried in the very coffin, which he had so precipitately bought for his wife, who is still living.



The powers of the god of love might be imagined to lie dormant amidst such scenes of distress as Bush-hill exhibited. But we find that his sway was felt there with equal force as any where else. John Johnson, and Priscilla Hicks, two of the patients, who had recovered, and officiated as nurses to the sick, were smitten with each other's charms—and, procuring leave of absence for an hour or two, they came to the city on the 23d of September, were joined in the bands of matrimony, and returned to their avocation at the hospital. A long chafin took place in the hymeneal records; for no adventure of the same kind occurred, until the 5th of November, when Nassy, a Portuguese mulatto, took to wife Hannah Smith, a bouncing German girl, who, as well as himself, was employed as nurse.



The state of the police and of society in Philadelphia, appears to no small advantage, when we consider one circumstance. Notwithstanding the absence of the magistrates, and the immense value of property left unprotected through the fears of the owners, and the deaths of the persons left to take care of it, there was only one or two burglaries committed.—One was attempted: but the rogues were discovered and taken. A hardened villain from a neighbouring state, formed a plot with some negroes to plunder houses. He was a master rogue, had digested a complete system, and formed a large partnership for the more successful execution of his schemes. However, he was soon seized, and the company dissolved.

The jail of Philadelphia is under such excellent regulation, that the disorder made its appearance there only in two or three instances, although such abodes of misery are the places where contagious disorders are most commonly generated. When the yellow fever raged most violently in the city, there were in the jail one hundred and six French soldiers and sailors, confined by order of the French consul ; besides eighty convicts, vagrants, and persons for trial ; all of whom, except two or three, remained perfectly free from the complaint. Several circumstances conspired to produce this salutary effect. The people confined were frequently cleansed and purified by the use of the cold bath—they were kept constantly employed—vegetables formed a considerable part of their diet—in the yard, vegetation flourished—and many of them being employed in stone-cutting, the water, constantly running, kept the atmosphere in a moist state, while the people of Philadelphia were almost uninterruptedly parched up by unceasing heat. Elijah Weed, the late jailor, caught the disorder in the city, and died in the jail, without communicating it to any of the people confined. I hope I shall be excused for paying a tribute to the memory of this valuable citizen, under whose government of the jail, and with whose hearty co-operation, most of the regulations in that institution have been effected, which, with the successful experiments made in England, prove that jails may be easily converted from sinks of human depravity and wretchedness, into places of reformation ; so that, instead of rendering the idle vagrant, confined merely on suspicion, or for want of friends to protect him, obdurate, wicked, and ripe for rapine and spoil,—the profligate and abandoned may be so reclaimed in them, as, on their liberation, to become useful members of society. For the honour of human nature, it ought to be recorded, that some of the convicts in the jail, a part of the term of whose confinement had been remitted, as a reward for their peaceable, orderly behaviour, voluntarily offered themselves as nurses, to attend the sick at Bush-hill, and have in

that capacity conducted themselves with great fidelity. Among them are some who were formerly regarded, and with justice, as hardened, abandoned villains, which the old system usually rendered every tenant of a jail, who remained there a few weeks. According to the same summary system, these men's lives would have been long since offered up as an atonement to society for the injury they had done it. That is, in plain English, because society had suffered one injury by rapine, it was necessary it should suffer another by law. But by the present improved and humane plan, they and great numbers of others are restored to society and usefulness once more. So much better, although a little more troublesome, is it, to reform men, than to butcher them under colour of law and justice.



The sympathy for our calamities, displayed in various places, and the very liberal contributions raised for our relief, reflect the highest honour on their inhabitants, and demand our warmest gratitude. The inhabitants of Gloucester county, in New Jersey, have the honour of being first in this laudable race. So early as the 30th of September, they had a considerable sum collected, with which they purchased a quantity of provisions for the use of the hospital at Bush-hill. They have, from that time, regularly continued copious supplies twice a week. In addition to this, they have made, and are now making, considerable purchases of wood, for the relief of the poor during the winter. From a few citizens of Philadelphia, near Germantown, there have been received two thousand dollars; from others near Darby, fourteen hundred; from New York, five thousand; from a person unknown, five hundred; from Bucks' county, sixteen hundred; from Delaware county, twelve hundred; from Franklin county, nearly five hundred; from Boston, sundry articles, which have been sold for nearly two thousand; and from sundry other persons and places, contributions equally liberal and honourable.

There has been a very strong analogy between the state of Philadelphia, and that of an army. About the close of August, and till the middle of September, when the dangers were few, and, by prudent management, might have been easily surmounted, an universal trepidation benumbed people's faculties; and flight and self-preservation seemed to engross the whole attention of a large proportion of the citizens. Just so, with an army of recruits. Every breath of wind terrifies them. Vague rumours are heard with fear and trembling. In every tree at a distance is beheld a formidable enemy, to whom they are ready to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. But when the "din of arms, and cannon's rattle" have familiarized them with the horrid trade of death, the obstinate phalanx beholds, unmoved, its ranks mowed down, and death advancing, with rapid strides, to terminate their (as it is falsely termed) *glorious* career. — Even thus was it here. Towards the close of September, and during the first part of October, when the horrors of the scene were constantly increasing, and from fifty to a hundred were interred daily, then people cast away their various preventatives—thieves' vinegar, tarred ropes, garlic, camphor bags, smelling bottles, &c.—And then it was, that they assumed a manly fortitude, tempered with the sober, serious pensive-ness, besitting such an awful scene.

A friend, to whom I communicated this idea, has endeavoured to explain the matter differently. He says, that those who were terrified at first, generally fled away—and left behind such as were possessed of a stronger frame of mind. This is an error; as many men, who were among the most striking instances of the influence of terror at first, behaved, in the end, with the most exemplary fortitude.



Shall I be pardoned for passing a censure on those, whose mistaken zeal led them, during the most dreadful stages of the calamity, to crowd some of our churches, and aid this frightful enemy in his work of destruction? who, fearful, lest their prayers and adora-



tion at home would not find acceptance before the Deity, resorted to churches filled with bodies of contagious air, where, with every breath, they inhaled noxious miasmata? To this single cause I am bold in ascribing a large proportion of the mortality—And it is remarkable, that those congregations, whose places of worship were most crowded, have suffered the most dreadfully. Will men never acquire wisdom? Are we yet to learn, that the Almighty architect of the heavens and earth, does not require “temples made with men’s hands?” that going to a place of worship, against the great law of self-preservation, implanted in indelible characters by his divine hand, on the breast of every one of his creatures, constitutes no part of the adoration due to the maker and preserver of mankind? That a “meek and humble heart” is the temple wherein he delights to be worshipped? I hope not—I hope the awful lesson some of our congregations hold forth on this subject, by a mortality out of all proportion to their numbers, will serve as a memento, at all future times, in the like critical emergencies!\*



Some of those who remained in the city, have, for reasons not very easy to justify, been in the habit of reproaching those who fled, with criminality, as deserters, who abandoned their posts†. I believe, on the

\* This paragraph, although erroneous, is retained, that I may have an opportunity, which I cheerfully embrace, of acknowledging the mistake I have committed. On a revision of the bills of mortality, it appears, that those congregations who kept up religious worship regularly, did not lose more than, and some not so many as, their usual proportions. In one year, ending July 31, 1793, the German Lutherans buried more than a sixth of the whole number of the dead in the city—the German reformed, a fifteenth—the Friends, a tenth—and St. Mary’s, an eighth. From August 1, to Nov. 9, 1793, the burials among the German Lutherans were not quite a sixth—among the German Reformed, nearly a sixteenth—among the Friends, an eleventh—and in St. Mary’s grave-yard, a sixteenth. These were the congregations alluded to, in the above remarks.

† If they were even guilty of a crime, it brought its own punishment; as I am fully convinced, that those who were absent, and a prey to the anxiety caused by the frightful reports current, suffered as much as those who remained in the city.

contrary, that as the nature of our government did not allow the arbitrary measures to be pursued, which, in despotic countries, would probably have extinguished the disorder at an early period—it was the duty of every person to avoid the danger, whose circumstances and situation allowed it. The effects of the desertion were, moreover, salutary\*. The sphere of action of the disorder was diminished. Two or three empty houses arrested the disease in its progress, as it was slowly, but surely travelling through a street, and probably rescued a neighbourhood from its ravages. We shall long have to mourn the severe loss our city has felt, in being bereft of so many valuable citizens: and had the 17,000, who retired, been in the city during the prevalence of the disorder, and lost as large a proportion of their number, as those did who remained, we should, instead of 4000 dead, have lost nearly 6000; and perhaps had to deplore in the number, another Clow, a Cay, a Lea, a Sims, a Dunkin, a Strawbridge, men of extensive business, whose loss will be long felt—a Pennington, a Glentworth, a Hutchinson, a Sargeant, a Howell, a Waring, men endowed by heaven with eminent abilities—a Fleming, a Graefsl, a Sproat, men of exalted piety and virtue—a Wilson, an Adgate, a Baldwin, a Carroll, a Tomkins, an Osley, citizens of most estimable characters. Let those then who have remained, regard their long-absent friends, as if preserved from death by their flight, and rejoice at their return in health and safety. Let those who have been absent, acknowledge the exertions of those who maintained their ground. Let us all unite in the utmost vigilance to prevent the return of this fell destroyer, by the most scrupulous attention to cleansing and purifying our scourged city—and let us join in thanksgiving to that Supreme Being, who has, in his own time, stayed the avenging storm, ready to devour us, after it had laughed to scorn all human efforts.

\* Perhaps had all our citizens remained, famine would have been added to our calamity; whereas, the markets were abundantly supplied during the whole time. The prices, too, were, in general not far beyond what they usually are at the same season of the year.

*Committee for relieving the sick and distressed, appointed by a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, summoned by advertisement in the public papers, Sept. 13, 1793.*

PRESIDENT.  
Matthew Clarkson.

SECRETARY.  
Caleb Lownes.

TREASURER.  
Thomas Wistar.

MANAGERS OF BUSHHILL HOSPITAL.  
Stephen Girard.  
Peter Helm.

ORPHAN COMMITTEE.  
Israel Israel.

John Letchworth.

James Kerr.

James Sharfwood.

COMMITTEE OF DISTRIBUTION.

Israel Israel.

John Haworth.

James Swaine.

Mathew Carey.

Thomas Savery.

James Kerr.

Jacob Witman.

John Letchworth.

James Sharfwood.

Samuel Benge.

SUPERINTENDANT OF THE BURIALS  
OF THE DEAD, AND REMOVAL OF  
THE SICK.

Samuel Benge.

DISTRIBUTOR OF SUPPLIES.

Henry Deforest.

COMMITTEE OF ACCOUNTS.

James Sharfwood.

John Conelly.

COMMITTEE ON THE PUBLICATION  
OF LETTERS.

Caleb Lownes.

Mathew Carey.

DECEASED MEMBERS.

Andrew Adgate.

J. D. Sargeant.

Daniel Offley.

Joseph Inskip.

*Assistant committee, chosen October 14.*

SAMUEL COATES, Chairman.

JOHN OLDDEN, Secretary.

Northern Liberties.

Chestnut to Walnut.

William Peter Spragues.

William Gregory.

Jacob Witman.

James Swaine.

Joseph Burns.

George Forepaugh.

Casper Snyder.

Peter Smith.

Vine to Race street.

Richard Whitehead.

Joseph Kerr.

John Ettries.

Race to Arch.

Thomas Willis.

Daniel Dawson.

Peter Thomson.

Thomas Allibone.

Lambert Wilmer.

Arch to Market.

William Sanson.

Justinian Fox.

Amos Wickersham.

Market to Chestnut.

Arthur Howell.

Alexander Cochran.

Thomas Dobson.

Jeremiah Paul.

James Cummins.

Casper W. Morris.

Thomas Castlere.

Walnut to Spruce.

George Rutter.

Benjamin W. Morris.

Spruce to Pine.

Samuel Pancoast, jun.

John Woodside.

Levi Hollingsworth.

William Watkins.

Pine to South.

John Wood.

Adam Brittle.

William Eckard.

Thomas Dicksey.

Fergus McElwaine.

Southwark.

William Innis.

Richard Mosely.

William Robinson, sen.

John Grantham.

John Savadge.

John Pattison.

## APPENDIX.—No. 1.

*An account of the plague in London, in the year 1665.*

**A**BOUT the close of the year 1664, the plague was brought over to London in some Levant goods, that came from Holland.

The narrowness of the streets and lanes in London, the closeness of the houses, and their being crouded with families, rendered the inhabitants very liable to suffer by infectious disorders in sickly seasons; and the plague was almost continually among the diseases enumerated in the bills of mortality. The goods above mentioned, were carried to a house in Long-acre, near Drury-Lane, where they were first opened. Here two Frenchmen died; the disorder communicated to other houses in the neighbourhood, and infected the parish officers who were employed about the dead. Another Frenchman, who lived near the infected houses, removed, for fear of the distemper, into Bearbinder-lane, where he died: and thus the plague got into the city.

The further progress of this cruel disorder was stopped during a hard frost which set in this winter, and continued till March, 1665,—when its virulence was revived, by the advance of the spring. At first it seized one here, then another a mile or more distant, after which it appeared again where it was observed before, just as accident furnished it with conveyance, and according to the time when persons contracted the distemper.

The usual symptoms of infection, for it is not proposed to enter into a strict medical consideration of the plague, are thus enumerated by dr. Hodges, who lived then in London, and attended patients in all stages of the disorder. First, a horror, vomiting, delirium, dizziness, head-ach, and stupefaction; then a fever, watching, palpitation of the heart, bleeding at the nose, and a great heat about the præcordia: but the signs more peculiar to the pestilence, were, those pustules, which the common people called blains,



buboes, carbuncles, spots, and those marks called tokens. The buboes were hard, painful tumours, with inflammation and gatherings upon the glands, behind the ears, the armpits, and the groin. These tumours, at their first appearance, were hard, and the event of the disorder was prognosticated from their sudden or slow increase, from their genuine or untoward supuration, and from the virulence of their contents. The pestilential spots appeared chiefly on the neck, breast, and back, and were not easily distinguishable from flea-bites. The genuine pestilential characters, commonly called tokens, as being the forewarnings of death, were minute distinct blasts, which had their origin from within, and rose up in little pyramidal protuberances, sometimes as small as pin-heads, other times as large as a silver penny, having the pestilential poison chiefly collected at their bases, gradually tainting the neighbouring parts, and reaching the surface as the configuration of the vessels and pores favoured their spreading. They were also derivable from external causes, as from the injuries of air, when the pestilential *miasmata* were pent up and condensed; and by that means their virulence increased, so that life was immediately extinguished when they reached the noble organs.

In the treatment of the sick, all the physicians agreed in throwing out the pestilential malignity as soon as possible by alexipharmics, and to these, as soon as the belly was loosened, recourse was had as to a sacred refuge: in extremity some had recourse to mineral preparations, as mineral *bezoar*, *sulphur auratum*, *aura vitæ*, &c. in order to drive out the pestilence by mere force. For external applications, they used blisters and cataplasms; the buboes were opened by incision; and the eschar formed by the virulent ichor, discharged by the carbuncles, was chiefly got off by actual cautery; nor were the blisters, ulcers, or incisions, suffered to heal until the malignity of the disease was spent. But such was the delusory appearance of this pestilence, that many patients were lost, when they were thought in safe recovery; whereas, others survived, who were

given over for lost, much to the discredit of the medical art.

The apprehensions of the people were greatly increased, by the crafty predictions of fortune-tellers, cunning-men, astrologers, and quacks, who hung out their signs in every street, and found their account in heightening the general terror; nor was their trade stopped, until these men of superior knowledge in the decrees of providence, were themselves swept away in the common calamity. As soon as the magistrates found that the contagion extended into several parishes, an order was issued for shutting up infected houses, to stop the communication of the disorder. These houses had red crosses painted on the doors, with this inscription, *Lord, have mercy upon us!* and watchmen were placed before them, who were daily relieved, to hand necessaries and medicines into the confined families, and to restrain them from coming abroad until forty days after recovery. But though these regulations were strictly executed, the propriety of them was much controverted, and the hardship universally complained of; for if a fresh person was seized in the same house, but a day before this quarantine expired, it was again renewed; which intolerable tedious imprisonment of the healthy with the sick, frequently ended with the deaths of whole families. Neither did this confinement of the sick prove effectual; for each house having but one guard, and many houses having avenues behind, it was impossible to secure all passages; so that, some would amuse the watchmen with discourse on one side of the house, while the rest of the family made their escape at the other; until, at length, the men were left to watch empty houses. Some watchmen were publicly whipped through the streets, for taking bribes to let persons out privately; and where such opportunities did not offer, the watchmen were sometimes ill treated: one near Coleman-street was blown up by gunpowder; and while he lay disabled by the explosion, those who had strength, escaped out of the house. Some persons also would let themselves down from the windows, armed with swords

and pistols, in the sight of the watchmen, and threaten them with instant death, if they called out or stirred. Many of them were even killed in disputes with those they were charged with the care of guarding.

It is a sad, though true character of human nature, to remark, that there are always miscreants ready to take advantage of public calamities; and what greatly contributed to the loss of persons thus shut up, was the villainous behaviour of some nurses. These wretches from an inhuman greediness to plunder the dead, would not only strangle their patients, and charge their deaths to the distemper in their throats; but would secretly convey the pestilential taint from the sores of the sick to those who were well. Yet though they were without witnesses in these diabolical practices, they often felt themselves the just victims of their own unguarded presumption.

Dogs and cats, being domestic animals, apt to run from house to house, and being supposed to convey the noxious effluvia in their fur or hair; an early order was made by the lord-mayor and other magistrates, by the advice of the physicians, that they should all be immediately killed; and an officer was appointed for that purpose. It was computed that 40,000 dogs, and five times as many cats, were massacred in consequence of this prescription; and all possible endeavours were used to exterminate rats and mice by poison, on the same account.

It was inconceivable, as the plague increased, with what precipitation such inhabitants of the city as were able to leave it, deserted into the country; for some weeks it was difficult to get to the lord-mayor's door, for the throngs that crowded in to get passes and certificates of health; without which none were permitted to travel through, or lodge in, any towns on the road. The nobility, gentry, and richer tradesmen retired first, and in the broad streets leading out of town, nothing was to be seen but waggons and carts loaded with goods, and servants; coaches full of families—and horsemen, all hurrying away; with empty carriages returning for fresh loads.

Some families that had no country retreats, laid up a store of provisions, and shut themselves up so care-



fully, as not to be heard of nor seen, until the plague ceased; when they came abroad safe and well;—among these were several Dutch merchants, who kept their houses like garrisons besieged, suffering no one to go out or come in, and thus preserved themselves in health. —Many merchants and ship owners shut themselves up on board ships, and as the plague increased, removed down the river, nor was it heard that the disorder reached any vessels below Deptford. Poorer persons took refuge in hoys, smacks, and fishing boats; but these took the infection; others went up the river in boats, lodging by night in tents made of their sails, on shore; for though the country people would supply them with provisions, they would not receive them into their houses. The poor who ran abroad in their extremities into the country, were often ill used and driven back, which caused great exclamation against the cruelty of the country towns; but self-preservation extinguished humanity; and yet notwithstanding all their care, there was not a town within twenty miles but suffered more or less by the disorder.

Thus the distemper was felt chiefly to prey on the common people; which it did to such a degree as to obtain the name of the *poor's plague*. The lord-mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, or their deputies, with many of the common council, very humanely to compose the minds of the people as much as possible, published their resolution not to quit the city, but to be always ready at hand to preserve order, and to do justice on all occasions. The lord-mayor held councils every day, making necessary dispositions for preserving the public peace; the people were treated with all the gentleness circumstances would allow, while presumptuous rogues, housebreakers, and plunderers of the sick or dead, were duly punished, and severe declarations issued against them.

It was one of their principal concerns to see the regulations for the freedom and good supply of the markets, observed—and every market-day the lord-mayor, Sir John Lawrence, or the sheriffs, attended vigilantly on horseback; to see their orders executed. The necessity of going to market was greatly contributory to the



ruin of the city, as there the people caught the infection one of another, and it was suspected that even the provisions were tainted; all imaginable precautions were however used in these negotiations—for customers took the meat from off the hooks themselves, that they might not receive it from the butcher—and for his security dropped their money into pans of vinegar, always carrying small money with them, that they might receive no change. Every one that could procure them, carried scents and perfumes about them, while the poorest inhabitants were forced on all occasions to run all hazards.

The infection, notwithstanding every caution, continued through the months of May and June, with more or less severity—sometimes raging in one part, and then in another—about the latter end of June, above twenty parishes were infected, and the King removed from Whitehall to Hampton court. Government was not however inattentive to the distresses of the metropolis—for beside appointing a monthly fast for public prayer, the king commanded the college of physicians to compose and publish an English directory of general advice in this calamitous season. Some of the college were appointed to attend the sick on all occasions; and two out of the court of aldermen were required to see this hazardous duty performed: nor were there eminent physicians wanting who voluntarily and courageously gave their assistance in so dangerous an employment; eight or nine of whom were destroyed in the duty.

In the first week of July, the bill rose to 725, the next week to 1089, the third week to 1843, and the next week to 2010. About the middle of the month, the disorder, which had chiefly raged in St. Giles's Holburn, and toward Westminster, began to travel eastward, and over the river to Lambeth and Southwark; but kept principally in the out parishes which were fullest of poor. When it abated in the western parishes, it exerted its violence in Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Shoreditch, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, Whitechapel and Stepney. In the months of August and September the disorder made most terrible slaughter;

three, four, or five thousand died in a week, the deaths one week amounted to 8,000 and were believed to extend to 10,000! for the registers in such confusion were not kept with great accuracy.

Under these shocking circumstances, when the people were in the greatest want of spiritual consolation, they were in general forsaken by their parochial ministers; and sad as the minds of the people were, there were not wanting some who satirized them in lampoons, for this scandalous desertion of their distressed flocks. When on some church doors were written, *Here is a pulpit to let*, and on others, *A pulpit to be sold*, then it was that the ejected non-conforming ministers, showed that disinterested concern for the people, that constitutes the true essence of the clerical character; for, unmindful of their legal disability, and regardless of the surrounding danger, they resolutely mounted the vacant pulpits, often twice a day, and soothed the griefs of crowded audiences by their pious discourses and other religious exercises.

When deaths became so numerous, the church yards were unable to contain the bodies, and the usual modes of interment were no longer observed: occasional pits of great extent were dug in several parts, to which the dead were brought by cart-loads, collected by the ring of a bell, and the doleful cry of *Bring out your dead!* They were put into the carts with no other covering than rugs or sheets tied round them by their friends, if they had any surviving; and were shot down in promiscuous heaps! Sometimes the drivers of those carts would drop in their employments, and the carts would be found without any conductor; in the parish of Stepney, it was said they lost within the year, 116 sextons, grave-diggers and their assistants!

Trade was at a stand, shops were shut up, every day looked like a solemn Sabbath; few were to be seen in the streets, and neither cart nor coach appeared but such as were employed for immediate acts of necessity: grass grew in the most public streets, and in the Royal-Exchange,—and the broad street in Whitechapel might be mistaken for a green field. Those families who carried on retail trades, or subsisted by labour, were now sup-

ported by charity, which is recorded to have been worthily extended by those who had ability to bestow it. The king contributed 1000*l.* a week, and dr. Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, who remained at Lambeth the whole time, beside his own benefactions, procured great sums to be remitted from the dioceses under his jurisdiction, by his affecting letters to the bishops—Monk, afterwards duke of Albemarle, with lord Craven, remained in London, and exerted all their abilities to alleviate the distresses they were witnesses to. Though the city was in general abandoned by the rich, yet these did not forget those who were left behind—large sums were sent up by them to the magistrates, as well as from the trading towns in the remotest parts of England. The degree of general distress in the metropolis may be supposed void of exaggeration, when it is said that beside private charities, the lord mayor and aldermen were enabled to bestow 100,000*l.* a week for several weeks together to the poor!

That nothing might be left untried to disperse the contagion, large fires were ordered to be made in the public streets; yet the physicians were very diffident of the success of this expensive experiment; and the trial soon decided in favour of their doubts. Coals were then 4*l.* per chaldron; and two hundred chaldron were applied in making fires at the custom-house, Billingsgate, at the bridge-foot, three cranes, Queenhithe, Bridewell-gate, the corner of Leadenhall and Grace church streets, at the north and south gates of the Royal Exchange, Guildhall, Blackwell-hall, at the lord-mayor's door in St. Helens, at Bow church, and at the western end of St. Paul's cathedral.—These fires continued for three days—and were then almost extinguished by a smart rain; but the following night, from whatever cause it might proceed, was the most fatal of the whole; for more than 4000 then expired! and this unfortunate event was a discouragement to any farther attempts of that nature.

When the disease was at the greatest height, little regard was had to the giving medical assistance; for many of the most eminent physicians and surgeons were already dead; and it was in vain to keep houses

shut up, when they were mostly empty with their doors and windows open and shattering with the wind. At length the disorder, after having braved the art of man, gave way to the course of nature, at the decline of the summer season, when, though the numbers of the infected were not observed to lessen, yet the disorder grew weaker; more in proportion recovered, and the deaths insensibly diminished. When this began to be perceived, the dread that had invaded the minds of the people wore off, and contributed to their recovery; and whereas in the height of the disorder it usually killed persons in two or three days, and not above one in five recovered—now it did not kill in less than eight or ten days, and not above two in five perished; the nurses also grew either more cautious or more faithful; so that after a little while a dawn of health appeared as suddenly as it was unexpected. In the beginning of November; the face of affairs was quite altered: though the funerals were yet frequent, yet the citizens began to return without fear; and in December they crowded back as fast as they had fled in the spring. Such as were cautious, took great care in seasoning their houses; and abundance of costly things were consumed, which not only answered their own particular purposes, but filled the air with grateful smells, which were serviceable to their neighbours; some burnt pitch, brimstone, and gunpowder, to purge their houses and goods; while others, through eagerness and carelessness, entered their dwellings without any preparation. Earl Craven and the other justices of Westminster caused the bedding of infected houses, to be well dried and aired, the rooms to be new whitewashed, and the churchyards to be covered two feet thick with fresh earth; to prevent, as far as possible, any revival of the pestilential taint.

The winter gave the most effectual check toward suppressing this great enemy of mankind; and tho' some remains of the contagion appeared in the succeeding spring, it was no more than could be easily conquered by medicine; and the city thus got rid of the infection and returned to perfect health.

The bills of mortality computed the numbers of buri-



als this year at 97,306, of which 68,596 were attributed to the plague; but this estimate was universally received as very erroneous; as it was not difficult to show, from circumstances, that the account was manifestly defective. At the beginning of the disorder, there was great knavery and collusion in the reports of the deaths; for while it was possible to conceal the infection, they were attributed to fevers of all kinds, which began to swell the bills; this was done to prevent houses being shut up, and families being shunned by their neighbours. Add to this, that the dead carts working in the dark, no exact accounts were kept; the clerks and sextons being naturally averse to so dangerous a duty, and frequently falling sick themselves before such accounts as they had were delivered in. Quakers and Jews also, who had separate burial grounds, were not mentioned in the weekly bills; nor was any register taken of those who died on board vessels of all kinds in the river. It was well known, that numbers of poor despairing creatures wandered out of town into the fields, woods, and other remote places, where they died of the infection and of want. The inhabitants of the villages would carry food to these distracted refugees, and set it at a distance for them; and afterwards frequently found them dead with the victuals untouched. The country people would then dig holes and drag the bodies into them with long poles having hooks at the ends, carefully standing to the windward; and throw the earth over them as far as they could cast it. On the whole, it was the opinion of eye witnesses, that the plague destroyed 100,000 at least. The yearly bill mentions but one parish that remained quite exempt from infection, which was that of St. John the Evangelist in Watling-street.

As to foreign trade during this year, it was almost extinct; as no port in France, Flanders, Spain, or Italy, would admit London ships, or correspond with that city; the Turks only and the Grecian isles, to whom the plague was familiar, were not so scrupulous. The Flemings and Dutch had great advantage of this circumstance, by buying English goods in those parts of England that remained clear of infection, carrying them home, and then exporting them again as their own.

*Account of the Plague at Marseilles, in 1720.*

**M**ARSEILLES has been several times visited by the plague, as in the year 1580, in 1630, 1649, and 1650.

In May, 1720, the citizens were informed, that the plague had made its appearance in Palestine, and Syria. On the 25th of that month, a vessel from Syria, and the island of Cyprus where the plague prevailed, arrived at the isles of Chateaudif, in the vicinity of the harbour of Marseilles. After performing a quarantine, the passengers were permitted to mix with the inhabitants. One of the crew, and a person placed on board as a guard, had in the mean time died; but the surgeon employed to examine the bodies, declared, that he could discover no mark of the plague. On the 12th of June, a ship, with a foul bill of health, as it is termed, cast anchor. On the 24th and 26th of June, four persons died. Three of these were porters, who had been entrusted with the care of purifying the merchandize on board of these vessels. The fourth was a boy belonging to the first vessel. Hence it appears that the progress of this contagion was in the beginning extremely slow. The surgeon again certified that there was no sign of the plague; but the magistrates began to distrust him. They caused the bodies to be buried in quick lime, and the vessels, from the cargoes of which the porters were suspected of having caught the contagion, were ordered to be removed to a greater distance. On the 7th of July, two other porters employed in the Lazeretto were taken ill, and on the 8th a third; on the 9th, the whole three expired. They were buried in quick lime, and their clothes were burned. Three other surgeons had been appointed to inspect their bodies; and it was at last confessed that they had died of the plague: from this time to the 31st of July, the contagion made feeble but gradual advances. The gentlemen of the faculty, who had declared the dangerous nature of the disease, were insulted by the rabble, who would not believe that the plague would have advanced so very slowly. The magistrates were afraid to injure the commerce of the city by the report spread that this infection had got into

Marfeilles. Though they feem to have done their duty, yet they were fo little aware of the gulf, which was yawning beneath them, that on the 15th of July, they fent letters to the health officers in the other ports of Europe, informing them, that though many perfons were fick in the infirmaries, yet that the contagion had made no progrefs in the city. Indeed, from this day to the 25th, almoft nothing was heard of it, and the people had begun to believe, that the danger was over. On the 26th, however, the magiftrates were informed, that fifteen perfons were taken ill, in the ftreet of Lefcalle. The phyficians durft not venture to declare the fact, and afigned any other reafon for their ficknefs, than the plague.

At the end of July, the magiftrates became alarmed in earneft. Some of them began to be exhausted by the melancholy employment of attending the funerals of the dead, and the removals of the fick to the public hofpitals, both which offices were performed in the night. The marquis de Pelles, governor of the city, examined the treasury, and found in it only the pitiful fum of eleven hundred livres. Corn, butcher's meat, and wood, were extremely fcarce and dear. The wealthy part of the inhabitants had by this time fled. It was now certain that the contagion was fixed in the city; and it was readily forefeen, that, unlefs vigorous meafures of prevention were taken, famine would complete the fcene of calamity. All beggars from the country were commanded to leave the city; but it was immediately found impracticable, to carry this order into execution. The chamber of trade of the parliament of Aix, had published an arret, prohibiting the citizens of Marfeilles from quitting the territories of the town. The other inhabitants of Provence were forbidden to hold any correffpondence with them; and coachmen, carriers, or others, attempting to retire from Marfeilles to the country, on any pretence whatever, were to return back under pain of death. It was, therefore, impoffible to drive out of the city, two or three thoufand beggars, and other ftrangers of different kinds. An attempt was made to difpel the infection by burning fire in the ftreets, but to no purpofe. A variety of regulations were adopted to prevent the fpreading of the

distemper, as well as the progress of famine. What fuel had been in the city, was already consumed in the experiment of making fires. A great quantity of sulphur was bought, and a part of it distributed to the poor, in every quarter of the town, to be burned in their houses by way of a perfume: the colleges and schools were shut up, to prevent the communication of the disorder; and the most pressing applications were made to the government of France, for immediate and substantial assistance, before the avenues of the city should be absolutely shut up. On the third of August, a mob assembled, demanding bread, which was given to them. On the fourth, the officers of the fort of St. John, waited on the magistrates, to acquaint them, that their soldiers were in want of corn; and if not supplied, would perhaps enter the city, and take it by force; the answer which they received was, that if the troops attempted to enter Marseilles, the magistrates, at the head of the citizens, would oppose them. On the 7th of August, the chamber of trade of Provence, permitted the sheriffs to have a conference with some of their agents, at the distance of six miles from the city. Precautions were taken to speak at a distance. An agreement was made, that a market should be established in that place, and a double barrier erected. Another market was to be fixed upon a high road, two leagues from Marseilles, in a different direction. A rendezvous for boats was likewise named, in a creek amongst the islands in the harbour of Marseilles. In all these places, the guards were appointed by the province, and paid by the city. On the 9th of August, it was found, that most of the physicians and surgeons had fled. It was thought necessary to select a house to which the sick might be carried. The house of convalescence was pitched upon for that purpose. But it was an object of the greatest difficulty to remove the sick. Horses, harness, and carts were all equally wanted. It became necessary to go into the country to seek them, and when they were found, no person would consent to serve as a porter in removing the dead—Exorbitant wages were offered with little effect. An immense number of cooks and sick nurses were likewise wanted, and it was not without the greatest exertions, that the ma-



gistrates could obtain persons for these employments. Three pits were dug without the walls of the city. They were sixty feet in length and twenty four feet deep, and the dead were buried in quick lime. Another large hospital was fitted up under the vaults of a rope yard, by the chevalier Rose, at his own expense; and he caused large ditches to be dug for burying the dead. The two hospitals were entirely filled in less than two days; but the patients did not remain there long. The distemper was so violent, that those who were brought into the hospitals at night, were cast into the ditches next morning. In every house where it entered, no person escaped the infection, and it seems that few or none survived it. On the 12th of August, two of the most eminent physicians of Montpelier were dispatched by the regent of France to the assistance of the citizens. The magistrates of health, the judges of the city, the rectors of all the hospitals and other charitable foundations, the commissaries who had been appointed for the different quarters of the city, but a few days before, with an immense number of people of all ranks, fled in the greatest hurry from Marseilles. The very centinels who had been posted to prevent the flight of others, deserted, while the captains of the militia, and their soldiers ran away by whole companies. The shops, houses, magazines, churches and convents were shut up. The public markets were empty, and nothing was any where to be seen, but the dying or the dead. Marseilles was supposed at this time to contain about one hundred thousand people. Carts and porters were kept in constant readiness to carry off the dead; but the difficulty of providing these augmented every day. Persons employed in that service very seldom lived more than forty eight hours. It is said that by only touching the body with an iron hook, at the end of a pole, the distemper was communicated. Fifteen livres or about three dollars per day was the hire offered, and it was refused by the very beggars. At last, the magistrates applied to the officers of the galleys, and obtained from them a supply of hands, selected from the criminals, who were promised their pardon upon condition of exerting themselves; but they did their work

with so much slowness and laziness, says our author, *that it was enough to make one mad*. The slaves were in want of every thing, and in particular of shoes, which it was impossible to get for them, as there was none in the city, nor any shoemaker, to manufacture them. These unfortunate beings, when they entered a house, to carry off the dead, hardly ever failed to plunder it, so that the perpetual danger of robbery was added to the other calamities of the citizens. The slaves were likewise unskilful as well as unwilling carters. They frequently overturned the carts, and broke the harness of the horses; a loss which was irreparable, for neither saddler nor cartwright was left in Marseilles. Besides, no tradesman would touch the carts or harness which were employed in that service; and the peasants in the territory belonging to the city, had carefully concealed their carts.

Multitudes of women, who were giving suck, died of the plague; and their infants were found some dead, and others dying in the cradles. An hospital and a convent, which were found empty, by the death or flight of their former possessors, served as an asylum for these noviciates in wretchedness. They were supplied with soup, and goats milk. Thirty or forty of them perished every day; yet there were never less than twelve or thirteen hundred of them surviving at one time. On the 21st of August, the number of the dead at once increased so prodigiously, that the magistrates found it impracticable to get them carried out of town, to be thrown into the pits. The quarter of St. John and some other parts of the old town, were, from the height of the ground and the narrowness of the streets, almost inaccessible to any wheel carriage. They were inhabited by the poorest classes of the people, who were worst lodged and worst fed, and therefore died fastest. The bodies, in heaps, blocked up the passages of the streets. It was to be apprehended, that if they were suffered to lie above ground, the infection would spread with augmented rapidity. The marquis de Pille and the magistrates, requested a meeting at the town house, with the officers of the galleys. This assembly came to the resolution of interring the dead bodies, belonging to the

higher parts of the town, in the vaults of the church yards in the neighbourhood. Quick lime and water were to be thrown upon them, and the vaults, when full, were to be closely cemented up. The bishop of Marseilles and the clergy opposed this measure; but the necessity of the case superceded every objection. On the 23d of August the magistrates began this task. The clergy had bolted the doors of their churches, which were broke open. In the mean time, the misery of the inhabitants augmented every day and almost every hour. Amongst other necessaries, linen was exhausted, and in the midst of this mass of wretchedness, the populace, from famine, despair, and madness, had become so turbulent, that it was found requisite to raise gibbets in all the public places of the city. From the 25th of August to the end of September, a thousand persons were computed to perish every day. The galley slaves, who had been called to assist the citizens, began to die like the rest. The shopkeepers had locked up their doors, so that the people could not buy, on any terms, the common necessaries of life. On the 27th, the board of trade published an order, for all shopkeepers and tradesmen, to set open their doors, within twenty-four hours, on the pain of death. Commands of this kind had little weight. Desertion, wherever it could be accomplished, was universal.

On whatever side the spectator cast his eye, nothing was to be seen but heaps of putrefaction. The streets, the public markets, the square of the play house, the harbour, and every other place, was strewn with dead bodies. In the original narrative, from which this abridgment is extracted, there are many circumstances related, of a nature so shocking, that to repeat them would be an act of inhumanity to the reader. Thousands fled on board the ships in the harbour, from a conceit, which proved very foolish, that the contagion could not reach them, when upon the water. The streets were heaped not only with dead bodies, but with furniture and clothes of persons infected, which were incessantly cast out of the windows. The dogs and cats were every where killed, and served to augment the mass of corrup-

tion. Ten thousand dogs were at one time computed to be floating in the harbour.

If you met any one in the streets, he looked as if half dead, and as if the distemper had affected his understanding. Many wandering about fell through weakness, and never rose again. Some, to put an end to their sufferings, cut their own throats, or jumped out of high windows, or into the sea. It was impossible for the hospitals to contain the crouds of patients who thronged into them. The instant that a person was observed to be infected, he became an object of horror to his nearest relations. He was either left deserted in the house, or driven out of it. This was the treatment of wives to their husbands, and husbands to their wives, of children to their parents, and of parents to their children. The hospitals were so far from being capable to contain the sick, that numbers could not even get access to the doors, on account of the vast crouds that lay on the pavement around them. This was the situation of Marseilles at the end of August. By the third of September, the surviving magistrates found the town house almost empty. Five hundred persons belonging to it had died. Amongst these were three hundred and fifty of the city guards. The religious orders likewise suffered extremely. The bishop was distinguished by the most active and intrepid benevolence. On the 6th of September, there remained, after every exertion, above two thousand dead bodies in the streets. A fresh supply of galley slaves was obtained with difficulty. From this time, to the end of September, the disease raged with unabated fury. In the month of October, it began to abate without any visible cause. The sick began to be cured. In November, the contagion continued to decrease, and by the 1st of December, the danger was in a great measure at an end. It was not, however, entirely ceased till the month of March. We are not informed as to the exact number of deaths; but they are estimated at not less than fifty or sixty thousand.



*List of all the Burials in the several grave yards of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, as taken from the Books kept by Clergymen, Sextons, &c. from August 1st to November 9th, 1793.*

## AUGUST.

DAYS.	Christ Church.	St. Peter's.	St. Paul's.	First Presbyterian.	Second Presbyterian.	Third Presbyterian.	Scotch Presbyterian.	Seceders.	St. Mary's.	Trinity.	Friends.	Free Quakers.	German Lutherans.	German Calvinists.	Moravians.	Swedes.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Universalists.	Jews.	Kennington.	Potter's field.	Total.
1	1			1							1			1									9
2					1				2					1							2	1	8
3		1				1			2	2						2					1		9
4	1					1	1		1		2		4										10
5	1												1										
6	1						1						2								5	2	10
7	1		1								7		2										3
8					1				1				1	1		1							5
9	2			1	1	1					2		2								1	1	11
10	1	1			1								2								1		6
11						2							4								1		7
12								2		2				1							1		5
13				1							1		2			1					1	2	11
14						1															1	2	4
15													2	1							1	2	9
16		1	1					3					1	1							1	2	7
17				1							1		1	1							1	1	6
18											1		1								2	1	5
19			1	1		1			1		3		1								1	1	9
20	1							3													1		7
21	2			1				2	1				1								1		8
22			1			2		4			3		1								2	1	13
23		1						2			2		3	1							1		10
24				3	1	1		2	1		5			1							3		17
25	1				2	1		2			1		3							1	1		12
26	2	2			1			3			1		4	1						2	1		17
27	1	1											3		1					1	1		12
28	5	3		1	2			3			1		2	3									22
29	4	2	1		2	2		2	1		3		4								3		24
30	1	1						4			4		3	3						1	3		20
31	2	1						3					7								2		17

# S E P T E M B E R.

D A Y S.	Christ Church.	St. Peter's	St. Pauls.	First Presbyterian.	Second Presbyterian.	Third Presbyterian.	Associate Presb.	Reformed.	St. Mary's.	Trinity.	Friends.	Free Quakers.	German Lutherans.	German Calvinists.	A. M. Episcopals.	Anglicans.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Universalists.	Jews.	Kennington.	Potter's field.	Total.
1	1				2	1		1					4								2	5	17
2					2	2			2		5		2								1	4	18
3	1	1			3	1							2								1	3	11
4	3		1	1	2			2	1	2	2		4	3							2	2	23
5		4		1	1	1	1			1	1		2	3							1	5	20
6		2		1	2			2	1	1	1		3	1							2	7	24
7	1			1	1			1	1	2	2		2								1	7	18
8	2	1		1	4	2			2	3	3		4								1	10	12
9		1	2			1		1	3	1	1		1		1						1	1	32
10	3	1	1	1				2	3	1	6		5	1							1	4	29
11	2	1		1			1		1	2	2		3				1				3	8	33
12	1	2	6		1		1		2	3	3		2	2	1						2	10	33
13	1	1		1	1				3	1	7		2	2		1					1	10	37
14	2		3	3	1				4	4	4		5	2			1				2	1	48
15	4	2		1	3	1	1		5	1	10		9	1	1						2	1	60
16	4	2	1	2	3	1			4	3	10		12	7							3	1	57
17	1	1	1	1	4	2			5	2	7		21	7							3	20	31
18	3	4		2	4	2			6	2	7		10	4							3	19	38
19	4	2		2	3	2			4		5		9	5							2	2	51
20	3	1	1	1	2		2		3		9		7	1			3				5	2	57
21	3	3		1	2	1			6		6		8	2							4	21	57
22	6	1	2	3	1		1		1		6		7	6	1						7	32	60
23	1	3	2		4				5	2	7		8	6		1	1				9	21	38
24		5	2	4	4	2			9		8		12	4							8	38	66
25	4	2	2		4	4		2	6		8		15	5		3					7	29	37
26	2		1	3	1				1	1	5		6	5		1					1	28	2
27	3	1	1	2	1	4	1		6		14		6	5							2	1	60
28	1	1		1	1					2			4	5							2	19	51
29		3	2	2	3			1	4	1	10		7	3			1				2	2	57
30	4	1	2	1	3				6	1	8		4	6			3				2	22	63

Returned in gross.

Returned in gross.

Returned in gross.

Returned in gross.



# N O V E M B E R.

DAYS.	Christ Church.	St. Peter's.	St. Paul's.	First Presbyterian.	Second Presbyterian.	Third Presbyterian.	Associate Presb.	Reformed.	St. Mary's.	Trinity.	Friends.	Free Quakers.	German Lutherans.	German Calvinists.	Moravians.	Swedes.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Universalists.	Jews.	Kennington.	Potter's field	Total.
1									1		3		1	1							2	5	13
2		1				2		3	3	2	2	3	2	2							8	21	
3	1	1						1	1			5	2								1	4	15
4	1	1						1				5									1	6	19
5	2										3	1	2	1								6	14
6		1		1				3	3	1	1	1										5	11
7	2							1	1	4			1	1							1	5	15
8		1						2	1		1	1	1									3	8
9									1	1			2	2								3	6

August	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	325
September	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1442
October	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1993
November	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	118
Jews, returned in gross	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Baptists, Do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60
Methodists, Do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
Free Quakers, Do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39
German part of St. Mary's congregation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30

Total 4041



Protestant Episcopalians	{	Christ Church	-	-	-	173
		St. Peter's	-	-	-	109
		St. Paul's.	-	-	-	70
Presbyterians	{	First	-	-	-	73
		Second	-	-	-	128
		Third	-	-	-	107
		Associate	-	-	-	12
		Reformed	-	-	-	33
Roman Catholics	{	St. Mary's	-	-	-	251
		German part of do.	-	-	-	30
		Trinity	-	-	-	54
Friends	-	-	-	-	-	372
Free Quakers	-	-	Returned in gross.	-	-	39
German	{	Lutherans	-	-	-	641
		Calvinists	-	-	-	261
Moravians	-	-	-	-	-	13
Swedes	-	-	-	-	-	75
Baptists	-	-	Returned in gross.	-	-	60
Methodists	-	-	Do.	-	-	32
Universalists	-	-	-	-	-	2
Jews	-	-	Do.	-	-	2
Kensington	-	-	-	-	-	169
Potter's field, including the new ground	-	-	-	-	-	1334
						<hr/>
						4041

# METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

MADE IN PHILADELPHIA, BY

DAVID RITTENHOUSE, Esquire.

AUGUST, 1793.

	Barometer.			Thermometer.			Wind.			Weather.		
	A. M.	3 P. M.		6 A. M.	3 P. M.		6 A. M.	3 P. M.		6 A. M.	3 P. M.	
1	29	95	30 0	65	77		WNW	NW		cloudy,	fair,	
2	30	1	30 1	63	81		NW	SW		fair,	fair,	
3	30	5	29 95	64	82		N	NNE		fair,	fair,	
4	29	97	30 0	65	87		S	SW		fair,	fair,	
5	30	5	30 1	73	90		SSW	SW		fair,	fair,	
6	30	2	30 0	77	87		SW	W		cloudy,	fair,	
7	30	12	30 1	68	83		NW	W		fair,	fair,	
8	30	1	29 95	69	86		SSE	SSE		fair,	rain,	
9	29	8	29 75	75	85		SSW	SW		cloudy,	fair,	
10	29	9	29 9	67	82		W	SW		fair,	fair,	
11	30	0	30 0	70	84		SW	WSW		cloudy,	cloudy,	
12	30	0	30 0	70	87		W	W		fair,	fair,	
13	30	5	30 0	71	89		SW	W		fair,	fair,	
14	30	0	29 95	75	82		SW	SW		fair,	rain,	
15	30	0	30 1	72	75		NNE	NE		rain,	cloudy,	
16	30	1	30 1	70	83		NNE	NE		fair,	fair,	
17	30	1	30 0	71	86		SW	SW		fair,	fair,	
18	30	1	30 0	73	89		calm	SW		fair,	fair,	
19	30	1	30 1	72	82		N	N		fair,	cloudy,	
20	30	1	30 12	69	82		NNE	NNE		fair,	fair,	
21	30	15	30 25	62	83		N	NNE		fair,	fair,	
22	30	3	30 35	63	86		NE	SE		fair,	fair,	
23	30	25	30 15	63	85		calm	S		fair,	fair,	
24	30	1	30 1	73	81		calm	calm		cloudy,	rain,	
25	30	1	30 1	71	66		NE	NE		rain,	great rain,	
26	30	15	30 2	59	69		NE	NE		cloudy,	cloudy,	
27	30	2	30 2	65	73		NE	NE		cloudy,	cloudy,	
28	30	2	30 15	67	80		S	calm		cloudy,	clearing	
29	30	16	30 15	72	86		calm	SW		cloudy,	fair,	
30	30	1	30 1	74	87		calm	SW		fair,	fair,	
31	30	0	30 0	74	84		SW	NW		rain,	fair,	

# METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER, 1793.

Barometer.				Thermometer.				Winds.				Weather.			
6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.
30	0	29	30	71	86	Calm	SW	fog,	fair,						
29	75	29	8	73	86	SW	SW	fair,	fair,						
80	0			60		NW	N	fair,	fair,						
30	15	30	15	55	75	W	W	fair,	fair,						
30	15	30	1	62	80	SE	S	fair,	cloudy,						
29	97	29	95	70	89	WSW	W	fair,	cloudy,						
30	0	30	0	65	77	WNW	NW	fair,	fair,						
30	1	30	1	64	70	Calm	Calm	cloudy,	cloudy,						
30	0	30	0	66	80	SE	NW	rain,	fair,						
30	0	30	0	64	72	N	NNE	fair,	cloudy,						
30	1	30	0	62	72	NNE	N	cloudy,	fair,						
29	96	29	9	58	76	NW	NNW	fair,	fair,						
29	95	30	0	57	72	NW	N	fair,	fair,						
30	0	30	5	58	79	NW	NW	fair,	fair,						
30	0	29	97	65	80	N	S	fair,	fair,						
29	9	29		70	84	S	SW	cloudy,	fair,						
29	8	29	85	66	67	N	N	cloudy,	cloudy,						
30	3			44		N		fair,							
30	4	30	35	45	70	Calm	SW	fair,	fair,						
30	3	30	15	54	69	Calm	SE	hazy,	hazy,						
30	0	29	0	59	78	Calm		cloudy,	fair,						
30	0	30	0	63	83	Calm		cloudy,	fair,						
30	1	30	1	62	81	Calm	SE	cloudy,	cloudy,						
30	2	30	2	65	70	NE	ENE	cloudy,	fair,						
30	15	30	0	61	68	NE	NE	cloudy,	cloudy,						
29	8	29	7	58	79	N	N	cloudy,	fair,						
29	7			64		NW	NW	cloudy,	fair,						
30	5	30	15	54	73	NW	NW	fair,	fair,						
30	3	30	3	56	74	NE	ENE	cloudy,	fair,						
30	35	30	3	57	75	Calm	SW	foggy,	fair,						

# METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER, 1793.

	Barometer.				Thermometer.				Winds.		Weather.	
	7	A. M.	2	P. M.	7	A. M.	2	P. M.	7	A. M.	2	P. M.
1	30	15	30	5	64	80			SW	SW	cloudy,	fair,
2	29	9	30	5	70	72			W	NNW	cloudy,	fair,
3	30	2	30	15	50	72			W	SW	fair,	fair,
4	29	75	29	7	59	72			SW	W	cloudy,	cloudy
5	30	0	30	1	58	66			N	N	fair,	fair,
6	30	3	30	3	43	66			NE	W	fair,	fair,
7	30	45			46				calm		fair,	
8	30	6	30	6	53	68			N	N	fair,	fair,
9	30	5	30	4	53	70			NW	NW	fair,	fair,
10	30	2	30	2	49	74			E	NW	fair,	fair,
11	30	0	29	85	51	74			W	W	fair,	fair,
12	26	6	29	55	58	64			SW	NW	rain,	rain,
13	29	85	29	9	49	69			NW	NW	fair,	fair,
14	30	5	30	0	52	76			SW	SW	calm,	fair,
15	29	75	29	8	56	54			SW	N	fair,	rain,
16	30	0	30	0	37	53			NNW	N	fair,	fair,
17	30	1	30	1	37	60			NE	NE	fair,	fair,
18	30	1	30	1	41	62			NW	NW	fair,	fair,
19	30	0	29	9	51	66			N	N	cloudy,	fair,
20	30	0	30	0	44	54			NW	N	fair,	fair,
21	30	0	30	2	49	59			N	NW	fair,	fair,
22	29	6	29	5	51	65			NW	NW	fair,	fair,
23	29	8	29	8	47	60			W	W	fair,	fair,
24	30	3	30	4	36	59			W	NW	fair,	fair,
25	30	4	30	3	46	71			S	S	cloudy,	fair, high w
26	30	2	30	2	60	72			calm	SW	cloudy,	cloudy,
27	30	3	30	3	44	44			NNE	NNE	cloudy,	cloudy,
28	30	2	30	1	34	37			N	N	cloudy,	cloudy,
29	29	85	29	85	28	44			NNW	NW	fair,	fair,
30	30	1	30	1	28	49			calm	SW	hazy,	hazy,
31	30	15	30	2	42	45			calm	NNE	cloudy,	rain,

NOVEMBER, 1793.

	Barometer.				Thermometer.				Wind.		Weather.	
	7	A. M.	2	P. M.	7	A. M.	2	P. M.	7	A. M.	2	P. M.
1	30	1	30	1	40	41			NNE	NE	rain,	cloudy,
2	30	3	30	25	32	49			NNE	NE	fair,	fair,
3	30	1	30	0	43	56			Calm	SW	cloudy,	cloudy,
4	29	8	29	9	55	67			SW	SW	cloudy,	fair,
5	30	15	30	1	50	64			NE	NE	rain,	rain,
6	29	8	29	65	63	67			S	S	cloudy,	cloudy,
7	29	8	29	8	44	64			Calm	SW	fair,	fair,
8	29	8	29	85	43	56			SSW	SW	fair,	fair,
9	29	9	29	95	43	64			SW	SW	fair,	fair,



LIST of the names of the persons who died in Philadelphia, or in different parts of the union, after their departure from this city, from August 1st, to the middle of December, 1793\*.

<b>A</b> BIGAIL, a negress	Christopher Armstrong, weaver
Joseph Abbot	James Armstrong, weaver
John Abel, shoemaker	John Armstrong
Henry Abel's child	Michael Artery
John Abrahams, shopkeeper	John Ash, breeches-maker
Elizabeth Abraham	George Ashen
James Ackley, labourer, wife, and three daughters,	Nathaniel Ashby's child
John B. Ackley's child	John Ashton, labourer, and wife
Widow Ackley	Joseph Ashton, bricklayer, wife, and two children
James Adair, labourer, wife, and son.	Joseph Ashton, carpenter
Hester Adams	Joseph Ashtin
Moses Adams, carpenter	Stephen Aston, labourer
Robert Adams's two children	Kitty Austin, seamstress
Sarah Adams, servant girl	Peter Aston, merchant, wife, and son
Andrew Adgate, cardmaker	John Atkinson
Widow Adgate and 2 children	Caleb Attmore, hatter, and his apprentice
Mary Addington	Jane Attrictz, wid. & daughter
James Ager	James Aubaine
Peter Agge, physician	Phil. B. Audibert, merchant, Fr.
Mary Advulter	Monsieur Auje, Fr.
John Ainey, stone-cutter	Julia Auler, servant girl
John Alberger, cooper	Isaac Austin, carrier
Christian Alberger, skinner	Remiquis Azor
Joseph Alberton, wife, and two children	Priscilla Alberton
Wife of Tho's Alberton, farmer	James Alder, merchant
Frederic Albrecht	Thomas Allibone's child
—— Albrecht, skinner	Elisha Alexander, taylor
Michael Albrecht's son Michael	James Alexander, hatter
—— Antonio, clerk, Portugal	Joseph Alexander, weaver, & apprentice
Andrew Apple, and child	—— Alexander's wife, and an apprentice
Henry Apple, taylor	Hester Alexander
Elizabeth Appleby, servant girl	Rebecca Alexander
Henry Apfel's daughter	Nicholas Allaway, labourer
Benjamin Armand and child	Augustus Allbrink, & 3 children
Christopher Arpurnth's wife	Elizabeth Allegue
Andrew Armstrong's child	Ann Allen
Barney Armstrong, labourer	James Allen's child
Christian Armstrong, weaver	
Hugh Armstrong, weaver	

\* This list has been partly collected from the church-books of all the different congregations, and partly from the information received by several persons who have been employed to make enquiry at every house in the city and liberties. Though very great pains have been taken, and expense incurred, in its arrangement, still it is not given as fully complete and accurate. But, it is hoped, that its defects and errors are but few, and, considering the difficulty of the business, such only, as will meet the reader's ready indulgence.

- John Allen, soap-boiler  
 Mary Allen, aged 70  
 Joseph Allen  
 Mary Allen  
 Widow Rebecca Allen  
 David Allen's sister  
 William Allen, servant  
 William Alley  
 George Allison, sadler  
 Robert Allison, sen.  
 Lawrence Allman and child  
 John Allman  
 Jacob Aloerstock, brewer  
 John Alston, medical student  
 Peter Alyart  
 Sarah Ammon  
 ——— Amand  
 Francis Anderson  
 Francis Anderson's child  
 Alexand. Anderson, Innkeeper  
 Hugh Anderson, taylor  
 James Anderson's wife  
 Susanna Anders  
 William Anderson, aged 72  
 Jacob Anderson's daughter  
 John Andre  
 Thomas Andrews, shoemaker,  
 and son  
 Isaac Andrews  
 Rev. Robert Annan's wife  
 Jacob Anthony's wife, and son  
 Henry  
 Thomas P. Anthony, merchant  
 Michael Babb  
 John Bacon's wife  
 David Bacon's wife  
 Mary Bacon  
 Widow Backer  
 Elizabeth Back  
 George Backley  
 John Badley, farmer  
 Jacob Bader, labourer  
 Hugh Bain's child  
 Mrs. Bakeoven, tavern-keeper  
 Adam Baker  
 Samuel Baker, book-binder  
 Bartholomew Baker's child  
 Catharine Baker  
 Christiana Baker, widow  
 George Baker, merchant  
 Jane Baker, widow  
 Michael Baker, shoemaker  
 Sarah Baker  
 Wallace Baker  
 William Baker, sen.  
 Wm. Baker, jun. apprentice  
 George Baldy, tanner  
 Daniel Baldwin, apothecary  
 Burgeßs Ball  
 Henry Ball, or Bale, saddler  
 Hannah Bales  
 John Ballance, blacksmith  
 Thomas Ballentine  
 Dougal Ballentine  
 James Balling, gunsmith  
 John Ballustree's child  
 Mary Banks  
 Jacob Bankson's widow & child  
 George Bantteon's son  
 John Baptiste  
 Barbara ———, a servant  
 Barbe, a black woman  
 John Barber, carpenter  
 Isaac Barber, plaisterer  
 Jacob Barkelow's child  
 John Barkley's child  
 Mary Barclay and child  
 Israel Bard  
 Thomas Barker, chair-maker  
 Wade Barker  
 Wade Barker, an apprentice  
 Mary Bare  
 Margaret Barkett  
 Blair Barnes, hair-dresser  
 Cornelius Barnes, merchant  
 Stermann Barnes, merchant  
 Francis Barnes  
 Paul Barnes's son  
 Isaac Barnett, joiner  
 Garret Barrey, type-founder  
 John Barret's child  
 James Barrett's wife  
 Bridget Barret  
 Edward Barrington, grocer  
 James Barry and child  
 Matthias Barry  
 Peter Bartho, apprentice  
 Peter Barthol, cooper, & wife  
 ——— Bartholomew, sailor  
 Elizabeth Bartholomew  
 Charles Bartholomew's wife  
 Christlieb Bartling's wife & dau.  
 ——— Barron  
 Alexander Barron, labourer  
 Lewis Barron  
 Thomas Barry  
 William, son of John Barry  
 Rob't Bartram, son of Joseph

**John Barwell**, livery-stable-keeper, and wife

**John Bask**, apprentice

**Francis Bastian**

**Magdalen Bastian**

**Lawrence Bast**, labourer

**William Bastin's son**

**Abraham Bates**

**Peter Batto**, cooper

**Catharine**, widow of **Tho's Batt**

**Widow Batt's daughter**

**Susan Batty**

**John Batty**

**John Bauh**, shoemaker

**Anna Barbara Bauer**

**Catharine Bauchman**

**Elizabeth Bauck**, a servant

**Peter Baufan's son**

**Henry Charles Bauman**, weaver

**Andrew Bauh**

**Adam Bauh**, reed-maker

**George Bautz**, carter

**Charles Bayman**, wheelwright

**Jacob Bay**, type-founder

**Elizabeth Bayle**

**James Beak**, labourer

**Honour Beale**

**Nathaniel Baine's wife**

**William Beard**, blacksmith

**Bridget Bearet**

**John Bear's wife**

**John Beattie**, labourer, & wife

**John Beattie**, porter of united states bank

**Catharine Beattie**

**Elizabeth Beaufort**

**Charles Beaumont**

**Andrew Beck**, sen. dyer

**Andrew Beck**, jun.

**Eliza**, daugh. of **Andrew Beck**

**Bernard Beck**, porter

**Catharine Beck**

**Jacob Beck's wife and daughter**

**Almy Beck**

**John Beck**, sen. dyer

**John Beck**, jun.

**Eliza**, daughter of **John Beck**

**Peter Beck**, shoemaker

**Mary Beckener**

**Rachel Beck**

**George Becker's child**

**Jacob Beeker**

**Margaret Beeves**

———— **Beifs**, labourer

**Alexander Beicht's child**

**Elizabeth Beil**

**John Bell**

**Maria Antoniette Belvoire**

**Catharine Benard**

**Elizabeth Benge**

**Francis Benjie**

**John Bennet**, joiner, and wife

**Samuel Bennet**

**Michael Benner**, labourer

**Jacob Benner**

**Benjamin Benoit's child**

**Thomas Bennet**, labourer

**Lucy Bennet**, wife of ditto

**Oswald Bently**

**John Benson's child**

**Rene Berenger**, Fr.

**Margaret Bergmeyer**

**Mary Berg**, Aet. 75

———— **Berry**, tinker, and wife

**Catharine Berry's child**

**Colonel William Berry**

**Nicholas Berkelet**

**Daniel Beskmeyer**

**Claudius A. Bertier**, merchant

**Henry Beyer**

**Samuel Bettle**, sen. taylor

**George Betingar**

**Abraham Betts**

**John Betz**

**Peter Betto**

**Thomas Bevans**

**Mary Bevans**

**Christopher Bevelin**, labourer

**Jenny Bickledick**

**Ann Bickley**

**Margaret Bideman**

**Owen Biddle's daughter Jane**

**Henry Pierse**, shoemaker

**John Biggs**, linen draper, and wife

**Eleanor Bigley**

**Peter Bignall's wife**

**Ann Bigot**

**Jacob Binder**

**Jacob Bilerder's child**

**Anna Bird**, servant

**Francis Bingin**

**Cornelius Bird**

**Joseph Bird's child**

**Christopher Birger**, carter

**Thomas Birmingham**

- Ann Birmingham  
 Ann Bishop  
 Thomas Bishop's daughter  
 Thomas Biven  
 John Peter Birtman  
 Robert Black, bricklayer  
 William Blake's child  
 Anthony Blame, confectioner  
 Widow Bloßbeyer  
 Nathaniel Blodget, Virginia planter  
 Francis Blockler  
 Jacob Blocher, labourer  
 Jacob Blocher, shoemaker  
 Jacob Blocker's wife  
 ——— Bloßbeyer's grandchild  
 Elizabeth Blinney  
 Eliza Blackley  
 Robert Black  
 Rich. Blackham, ironmonger  
 Bernard Bravehouse  
 Charles Boehm, apprentice  
 Charlotte Boehm, a servant  
 Adam Bohl, carpenter, and two daughters  
 Martha Boggs, widow  
 Thomas Bogh, shoemaker  
 ——— Bogs  
 George Bonce, carter  
 George Bock's sister  
 Widow Bock  
 Mary Bock  
 Margaret Bond, spinster  
 Peter Bob's daughter  
 Widow Bohn's son  
 Joshua Bonn, carpenter  
 Henry Bonn, labourer  
 Jemimah Bonshall  
 Sarah Bonnel, a child  
 Sarah Bird  
 Barney Book, and child  
 Thomas Boone, carpenter  
 Joseph Borde, sawyer  
 Geo. Bornhouse, cabinet-maker  
 John Bafs's wife  
 Benjamin James Bostock  
 Andreas Boshart, shoemaker, wife, and son  
 Wife of Andrew Boshart (sen.)  
 Wife of Wm. Boston, baker  
 Elizabeth Boswell  
 Jemima Boswell  
 Charlotte Bower  
 Widow Boulter  
 Saliniah Bouman  
 Catharine Bourke  
 Peter Bourke, hatter  
 Andrew Bower's wife  
 Martha Bowers  
 Stephen Bowers, shoemaker  
 Mrs. Bowen  
 Joseph Bowen  
 Elizabeth Bowen  
 Adam Bowles, carpenter  
 Catharine Bowles  
 Henry Bowles's wife, & 2 sons  
 Susannah Bowles  
 Catharine Bowman, a servant  
 James Bowman  
 Frederic Bowman, doorkeeper  
 Frederic Bowman  
 Henry Bower's wife  
 John Bowyer, gardener  
 William Boyce's wife, and son  
 Elizabeth Boyd  
 Martha Boyd, servant  
 Anthony Boyer, store-keeper  
 Catharine Boyer, widow  
 Henry Boyer, coach-maker  
 Michael Boyer's child  
 Michael Boyer, butcher  
 James Boylan's child  
 Mary Boyles, widow,  
 Catharine Boynés  
 Benjamin Bodger's son  
 Mary Brackley, a servant  
 Ann Bradshaw  
 Riley Bradford, waterman  
 Mr. Brandhoffer  
 John Brailey  
 Jacob Brant, blacksmith  
 John Braun's wife  
 Martin Braum, labourer  
 Widow Braton's two children  
 Francis A. Breinez  
 Michael Brady  
 Hugh Brady  
 William Brickhouse  
 Paul Barnes's child  
 Charles Brinham  
 Mary Brady  
 John Breckel's wife  
 Theresa Bristol  
 Anthony Bricour  
 Catharine Bressin  
 Michael Briefsch, taylor



Eliza Brelew  
 Rose Bride  
 Joseph Brewer, merchant  
 Samuel Breslin  
 John Bretzel, baker  
 William Brewster's son  
 Christian Bridig  
 Samuel Brien's daughter  
 Catharine Britton  
 Isaac Britton  
 Peter Bridnen, labourer  
 John Bright's son  
 Sarah Bright  
 Francis Brooks, gunsmith and  
 child  
 Jacob Broener, taylor, and wife  
 Edward Brookes's wife  
 William Brookes's daughter  
 Mary Brooks  
 Francis Brookes  
 Wife of ——— Brooks, invalid  
 Hannah Brooks  
 — Broomstone & 2 apprentices  
 Widow Elizabeth Brogdon  
 John Brother's apprentice  
 John Brown, a negro  
 Ann Brown  
 Mary Brown  
 Barbara Brown, a servant  
 Conrad Brown and wife  
 Wife of George Brown, taylor  
 F. Brown, taylor, and wife  
 Jacob Brown, jun.  
 John Brown, carpenter  
 John Brown, brickmaker  
 Martin Brown and mother  
 Thomas Brown, taylor  
 William Brown, labourer  
 Thomas Brown, shopman  
 Thomas Brown, labourer  
 James Brown  
 Elizabeth Brown  
 William Brown  
 George Brownpere, labourer  
 Francis Bruckner  
 Barney Bruckholst and wife  
 James Broudwick  
 John Brunstrom  
 George Bruner, taylor, & wife  
 Widow Bruner  
 Elizabeth Bryant  
 Jacob Bryant, blacksmith  
 John Bryan's wife and child

Matthew Bryan, taylor  
 Peter Bryan, shoemaker  
 Thomas A. Bryan  
 Thomas Bryan's wife  
 William Bryan, labourer  
 Isaac Buckbee, hatter  
 George Buck, baker  
 Bernard Buck's daughter  
 Wife and child of Joseph Budd,  
 hatter  
 ——— Bulledet  
 Susannah Budd, widow  
 Sarah Bufier  
 Widow Buleth  
 Joseph Bullock's son George,  
 and daughter Angelina  
 Mary Bullman  
 Samuel Bullman's wife  
 Mary Bunting  
 Rachel Bunting  
 Joseph Buffington's daughter  
 Joshua Bunn  
 Joseph Barden's child  
 Susannah Burden, in the Alms  
 house  
 Thomas Burden, taylor  
 Catharine Burkhart, a widow,  
 aged 30  
 Margaret Burkhard's  
 George Burdy, taylor  
 William Burkhard's daughter  
 and son  
 Daniel Burkhard's daughter  
 John Burghard and son  
 Elizabeth Burke  
 Peter Burke's daughter  
 George Burke's child  
 Catharine Burke's daughter  
 Joseph Burke, clerk  
 Margaret, wife of John Burke  
 Joseph Burk, from W. Indies  
 Thomas Burke's wife  
 David Burk, taylor  
 Sophia Burke  
 Jacob Burkellow, jun.  
 Joshua Burns, house-carpenter  
 Mary Burns  
 Patrick Burns, labourer  
 Elizabeth Burngate, shopkeeper  
 Mrs. Burns  
 John Burns  
 Thomas Burn's wife  
 Moses Burnet, ferry-man

- Robert Burrows  
 Elizabeth Burs  
 John Bulyman  
 William Butler, chair-maker  
 Elizabeth Bush  
 Robert Busby  
 Andrew Buttonfile's wife  
 Clarissa Bushell  
 Elizabeth Bushell  
 William Butts, shoemaker  
 John Butter  
 Francis Byerly, a lad  
 John Byrnes, currier, and wife  
 Sarah Cable, a servant  
 Catharine Cabler  
 Hannah Cadwallader  
 Paul Cake's wife  
 Susannah Cake  
 James Calbraith, jun.  
 James Calbraith's young man  
 John Calder, shopkeeper, and wife  
 John Caldwell, a child  
 Mary Cale  
 James Callagher, seaman  
 Martin Callaghan  
 Michael Calup's child and hired servant  
 Daniel Calley  
 William Cameron, innkeeper  
 Charlotte Camp  
 Matthias Camp  
 Wife of Mr. Campbell, taylor  
 Ann Campbell  
 George Campbell, wife Sarah, and daughter Mary  
 Christiana Campbell  
 James Campbell, shoemaker  
 John Campbell, servant  
 Alexander Cambler  
 Patrick Campbell, labourer  
 Alexander Campbell  
 William Campbell and wife  
 James Camus  
 Gilmer Cambay  
 Daniel Canaan, blacksmith, and child, Ir.  
 John Candie  
 Mary Cane, widow  
 John Canner, baker  
 Phoebe Cane  
 James Cannon  
 Fanny Cannon  
 George Capehart, tobacco-nist  
 George Capehart and child  
 Frederic Capehart, cooper  
 Frederic Capehart, apprentice  
 Caleb Cappy  
 Christopher Carefoot  
 Francis Cardell  
 Eleanor Carrell  
 Catherine Care  
 Laurence Carrell, brass-founder  
 Andrew Care, taylor  
 Philip Care's wife and child  
 Peter Carey, apprentice  
 John Carey's child  
 Peter Carey's child  
 — Carey's wife  
 Stelena Carl  
 Thomas Carnes, paper-hanger  
 Andrew Carney, blacksmith  
 Bernard Carpentier  
 John Carpenter  
 James Carper  
 John Carner  
 Hannah Carlwine  
 James Carr, labourer, and wife  
 John Carr  
 Joseph Carr, joiner, and wife  
 Joseph Carr, apprentice  
 Rebecca Carr, and mother  
 Mary Carr  
 Rob't Carr, brass-founder's wife  
 Daniel Carrigan, bricklayer  
 Charles Carroll, merchant  
 Elizabeth Carrens  
 Mary Carrol  
 Sarah Carrowood, servant  
 Timothy Carrell  
 William Carss, taylor  
 William Carse, and child  
 Ann Carson, house-wife  
 Francis Carson, labourer  
 Joseph Carson  
 Joseph Cassin  
 Hannah Carter  
 Lewis Carter, harness-maker  
 James Carter  
 James Carter, jun.  
 John Carpenter's daughter  
 Jacob Cathrall  
 Benjamin Cathrall's son  
 William Cathers  
 Catharine —, a servant  
 Julian Catton

James Cavelin, taylor  
 Bar. Cavenogh, porter, & wife  
 Elizabeth Caw  
 Elizabeth Caw  
 David Cay, merchant  
 Christian Cent  
 Frederic Cephers, joiner  
 Mary Francis Chabot  
 — Chace, of Baltimore  
 Dorothy Chafferly  
 Abraham Chalwell  
 David Chambers, stone-cutter  
 Adam Chambers's child  
 Henrietta Chambers  
 Harriot Chamberlaine's daugh.  
 Richard Chamberlaine's daugh.  
 Sarah Chambers  
 Dorothy Chapinan  
 James Chapman, whip-maker  
 Hannah Chapman  
 Charles —, a drover  
 John Chatham, Blacksmith  
 Nicholas Chatt  
 Claudius Chatt  
 Thomas Cherry, cooper,  
 Mary Cherry  
 George Chels's wife  
 Eliza Chelter  
 Thomas Chevalier  
 Michael Chew's child  
 William Chipley  
 Ernst Christ  
 Jacob Christler's wife  
 Elizabeth Christie  
 Matthew Christie, sen.  
 Matthew Christie, jun.  
 Andrew Christie, printer  
 Polly Christie  
 Frederick Christian, baker  
 George Christhelf's daughter,  
 and her child  
 Maria Christly  
 Samuel Christman  
 Johann Christmann's son Johann  
 James A. Chubb,  
 George Christhelf, musician  
 John Christel's son  
 John Clackworthy  
 Adam Clamper, and child  
 Thomas Clamper  
 Ann Clampton,  
 Ferdinand Claney  
 Abijah Clark's child

David Clark, coachmaker  
 Ephraim Clark's wife  
 Henrietta Clark, spinstrefs  
 Elizabeth Clark  
 James Clark, carpenter  
 Nelly Clark  
 Margaret Clark  
 Christian Clark's young man  
 Thomas Clark, brickmaker  
 Edward Clark  
 Sarah Clark  
 William Clark, waterman  
 James Clarkson  
 Margaret Claspin  
 John Clatworthy, taylor  
 George Clause  
 David Claypoole's 2 children  
 George Claypoole, joiner  
 William Claypoole's child  
 Bartley Clayton's child  
 Francis Clayton  
 Benjamin Clayton  
 William Claw  
 Elizabeth Clements  
 Chloe —, a servant  
 William Clements  
 Jacob Clements, farmer  
 Mary Clements and son  
 Samuel Clements, New Jersey  
 Thomas Cleverly, baker  
 Thomas Clifford, sen. merchant  
 Sarah Clifton  
 Isaac Clime, carpenter  
 Sophia Climer  
 Daniel Cline, baker  
 David Cline and daughter  
 Isaac Cline, carpenter  
 Devolt Cline  
 George Cline  
 John Cline, labourer  
 John Cline, bricklayer  
 Philip Cline, baker  
 Mrs. Clingham  
 Mary Clingland  
 Church Clinton, house carpen-  
 ter, and wife  
 Margaret Closter  
 Andrew Clow, merchant  
 William Clow, printer  
 George Clowse  
 James Clubb  
 Philip Clumberg, surg. barber  
 Christian Cluper

- Hugh Clymer  
 Daniel Coarigan, bricklayer  
 Joseph Coates's daughters Margaret and Eleanor  
 Thomas Coates's child  
 Wife and child of John Cobble, Blacksmith  
 John Coburn's child  
 Samuel Whiteafe Coburn  
 Child of James Cochran, house carpenter  
 John Cocklin  
 John Cochran, a seaman  
 Mrs. Cohen and son George  
 Thomas Colbert, clerk  
 Joseph Coleman's wife  
 William Coleman's child  
 Dorothy Coleman  
 Adam Collins, tobacconist  
 Honora Collins and child  
 Judith Collins, servant  
 Nicholas Collins, trunk-maker  
 Margaret Collins  
 Ralph Collins and wife  
 William Collins, his wife, his two daughters, his second wife, his son James, his wife, & his child, all of one family  
 Isaac Collins  
 Catharine Callyer  
 Sarah Colman, midwife  
 John Colvill's child  
 Sarah Colway  
 Abraham Camby, carpenter  
 Cornelius Comegys' wife Ann  
 Mary Commyns  
 Sarah Commyns  
 Robert Conckell  
 Barbara Conard  
 Margt. Conard, daugh. of John  
 Mary Conard  
 Maria Conde's son  
 Matthew Conard, tavern-keeper  
 Robert Condit  
 Margaret Conery  
 Michael Conrad, a lad  
 John Conrad, and wife  
 Mrs. Conard, and girl  
 John Conrad, watchman  
 Widow Conrad  
 Maria Conrad  
 Jane Conkey  
 George Connelly, bricklayer  
 George Connelly's child  
 John Connelly's child  
 Molly, daughter of Michael Conner  
 Sarah Connelly  
 Patrick Connelly  
 Margaret, wife of Joseph Conyers  
 — Coufer, taylor  
 Charles Contant  
 Edward Cook's daughter  
 George Cook, labourer, & wife  
 Henry Cook  
 Henry Cook  
 George Cook, porter  
 William Cook, stone-cutter  
 James Cook  
 John Cook  
 William Cook's child  
 George Cowper's wife  
 Jacob Cowper, apprentice  
 John Cooper's apprentice  
 James Cooper, labourer  
 Peter Cowper's son, currier  
 William Cowper, currier  
 Charles Cope, shoemaker,  
 Son of John Cope, butcher  
 George Cope  
 Margaret Conry  
 Jacob Coppas, labourer  
 Patt. Conly  
 Michael Corroy  
 James Cornelius, carpenter  
 David Copeland, tavern-keeper  
 Mrs. Corns, and son  
 Mrs. Corran  
 Mary Cone  
 Lewis Costart, apprentice  
 William Corfy  
 Michael Corley, upholsterer  
 Nicholas Corley, mill-stone maker, and child  
 Judith Corley  
 Lewis Coul  
 Elizabeth Corkrin  
 John Cottringer  
 William Roulton, sawyer  
 Richard Courtney, tailor  
 John Cousins, store-keeper  
 Widow Cownouff's child  
 John Cowen, store-keeper  
 James Cowan and child  
 John Coward, hemp-dresser  
 William Cowles  
 Samuel Cowty's child  
 Louisa Cowell  
 Barney Cox



John Cox, shoemaker	John Crowley, potter
William Cox	James Crowley
William Cox's boy and girl,	Mary Crowley and daughter
chairmaker	John Crubreux, drayman
Joseph Cox, currier	Mr. Crull's child
— Cox's son-in-law	Wife of John Crumb, bricklayer
Alexander Cox	Philip Cruncle
Charles Cox's child	John Crump's child
Joseph Cox, and wife	Paul Cuckot
Ann Coy	Catharine Cunan
John Cozens	Ann Cunningham
Jacob Craft, breeches-maker	Robert Cunningham's child
James Coffee	Comfort Cunningham
William Coffee	Hannah Cunningham
Dennis Connor	Michael Cunningham
Rebecca Corron	Matthew Cunningham
Anthony Cradet	Peter Curren's child
James Craig, merchant, Æt. 80	Mrs. Currens, and two sons
Edward Crane	Mercy Currie
John Craig's wife	James Currie
Lydia Craig	Rebecca Currier
Mrs. Craig	Ann Curtain
Mrs. Craig	Thomas Custard, shoemaker
Jacob Cramp, biscuit-baker	Jacob Daderman's child
Susannah Cramp	Robert Dainty, plumber
George Craps	Bridget Daily
James Crawford's child	Captain Richard Dales's child
Chris. Crawlberg, joiner	Peter Dale's daughter Sarah
Margaret Craig, widow	Francis Dalmas
Mary Crayhead, seamstress	Thomas Dabriel, shoemaker
Henry Creemer	John Dalton, clockmaker
Casper Cress, and daughter	David Damsen, shoemaker
Andreas Cressinan's servant	Julian Danacker
Margaret Cress	George Danecker, and wife
Caleb Cresson's wife	Robert Dannel
Joshua Cresson, merchant	Catharine Dardis
Peter Cresson	Henry Darroch, store-keeper
Lewis Cressly's wife	John Daum, labourer
Christian Criswell's child	Conrad Dauenhaer's daughter
Elizabeth Criswell	George Daum's wife
Christopher Criel's son	John David, silversmith
John Croll, barber	Ann David
— Cronow, sugar-boiler	Robert Davidson
Catharine Cross	James Davidson, merchant
— Cromwell's wife	James Davison's child
Daniel Cross, carpenter, & wife	Isaac Daves
Daniel Cross, jun. carpenter	Captain Davis's two nephews
Fanny Cross, washerwoman	Elizabeth Davis
Peter Cross	Gifford Davis's wife
Mary Cross's child	Isaac Davis's wife
George Crow, brass-founder	John Davis, wheelwright, wife,
Henry Crowell's wife	and daughter

- Joseph Davis, labourer  
 Joseph Davis, soap-boiler  
 Mary Davis's child  
 Michael Davis  
 Robert Davis, anchor-smith  
 Samuel Davis  
 Hester, wife of Sam. Davis, sen.  
 Sophia Davis  
 Susannah Davis  
 Rachel, wife of Joseph Davis,  
     currier  
 Widow Davis  
 Widow Davis  
 William Davis  
 John Davis, upholsterer  
 Richard Davy  
 Mary Dawkens  
 Hannah Dawson  
 Joshua Dawson's child  
 Daniel Dawson's wife Hannah  
 Mary Dawson  
 Darius Dawson  
 James Day's wife  
 Elizabeth Day  
 Sarah Days  
 Edward Deal, blacksmith  
 John Deal, blacksmith  
 Mary Deal, servant  
 Peter Deal's child  
 Margaret Dean  
 Joseph Dean, vendue-master, a  
     woman and child  
 Patrick Deary  
 Joseph de Barth  
 Mr. Deberger, his wife, and 6 or  
     7 of the family  
 Jacob Debre  
 Elizabeth Debre  
 Thomas Debel  
 Christian Deckard  
 John C. Deckard, musician  
 Christ. Deckenhardt, apprentice  
 Henry Decker, a servant  
 Jenny Deganhart  
 Christopher Degenhard & child  
 Wilhelmina Degenhard  
 William Deganhort  
 Ann D. Deiss  
 Benjamin Delany, chair-maker  
 Henry Delaney  
 Dennis Delany's child  
 John Delany  
 Patrick Delany's child  
 Bridget Delay, cook  
 Samuel Delap, bookseller  
 John Demaffrand's daughter  
 Andrew Denahaw, cooper  
 Mary Denckla, a child  
 Richard Denney  
 Mary Denny  
 Robert Denmet, groom  
 Ezekiah Denum  
 William Dennis  
 George Dennison  
 George Denfell  
 Henry Denfell's wife  
 Maria Denzell  
 Henry Depherwinn's son  
 George Dernberger  
 Henry Derham  
 James Derry  
 Widow Deringer  
 Adam Dettterick, shoemaker  
 John Devenny's child  
 Christian Devir  
 Thomas Devonald, merchant  
 Margaret Dewis  
 Campbell Dick, merchant  
 John Dibberger, cutler, & wife  
 Charlotte Dibberger  
 Henry Dibberger, sen. & wife  
 John Dickz's son  
 Dick —, a negro, aged 75  
 John Dickenson, bookbinder  
 Mary Dickinson  
 Jonath. Dickenton, shoemaker  
 ——— Dickinson, drover  
 Daniel Dickenson's daughter  
 Elizabeth Dickinson  
 William Dickinson  
 John Dickinson's child  
 P. Dickinson's daughter Maria  
 Thomas Dickinson's wife  
 William Dickinson, farmer  
 Michael Dignon and two sons  
 Edward Diehl, smith  
 John Diehl's son, porter  
 Maria M. Diehl  
 John Diehl, carpenter  
 Henry Dietz, baker  
 John Dietmar, labourer  
 Maria Dietz

Elizabeth Dietrick  
 Michael Dietrick's son  
 William Dien, a child  
 Frederick Dillman's wife  
 Catharine Dill's child  
 Mr. Dingle's child  
 Jane Dight, a servant  
 Catharine Dorothy Dirrick  
 William Dallas  
 Christian Dishong, and child  
 Maurice Dishong, clerk  
 Matthew Dishong's child  
 Susannah Dishong, widow  
 John Dixon's wife  
 Elizabeth Dixon  
 Patrick Dixon, labourer's child  
 William Dixon, joiner  
 Doctor John Dodd  
 Jacob Doddelmah's wife and  
 two children  
 Dolly, a black woman  
 Julian Doison  
 John Doll, carpenter  
 Hugh Donaldson, son of John  
 Arthur Donaldson's son  
 John Donahue  
 Johanna Donahue  
 Abigail Donahue  
 Margaret Donnelly  
 Philip H. Dorneck  
 William Dorr  
 Sarah H. Dorsey  
 Robert Dorsey's servant girl  
 William Doudney  
 Barnard Dougherty  
 Jeremiah Dougherty, carpenter  
 John Dougherty, carpenter  
 Rev. William Dougherty  
 Margaret Dougherty, servant  
 Henry Dougherty  
 Elizabeth Doughty  
 Charlotte Douglass  
 Cem. W. Douglass, silver-smith  
 Joseph Douglass, hair-dresser  
 William Douglass, carter  
 Peggy Dougney  
 Mary Dove  
 Thomas Dowling  
 Nathaniel Dowdry, carpenter  
 Mrs. Down  
 William Downey, whip-maker  
 Nathaniel Downing

Peter Doyle  
 James Doyle  
 Mary Doyle  
 Henry Drawiller  
 John Drieux, wife & daughter  
 William Drinker  
 Elizabeth Driscall and child  
 John B. Drouillard's 2 children  
 John Drum's child  
 Eleanor Drum  
 Cha. Fk. Dubois, watch-maker.  
 Joseph Dubreez's wife  
 Erenna Duffield  
 Lucy Duffield  
 J. Dufour's daughter Catharine  
 Nancy Dugan and child  
 William Duglas  
 Du Lac, French ambassador's  
 secretary  
 ——— Dull, hatter  
 Charles Dunbar  
 John Dunbury, servant  
 John Dudman  
 James Duncan's wife and child  
 John Dunkin, merchant  
 John Dunleavy  
 Cormick Dunleavy  
 Margaret Dunley, servant  
 Ann Dunn  
 Elizabeth Dunn  
 Sarah Dunn  
 Francis Dupail  
 Doctor Joseph Dupac  
 Elizabeth Duplessis  
 Francis Dupont, consul of the  
 French republic  
 Philip Durnick  
 John Durker  
 Peter Durieu  
 Rosana Durang  
 Joseph Duvet  
 John Durney's child  
 Thomas Durnell's daughter  
 Susannah Dyes  
 William Earl  
 Grace Easlaugh and child  
 Charles Eastick  
 Sarah Eastick  
 John Eastick's wife  
 George Eborne's child  
 John P. Eck, grocer  
 Elizabeth Eccles

James Eccles's two daughters

—— Eccles

George Eckel, linen-draper

Mary Eccles

Elizabeth Eccles

Deborah Eckley

John Ecky's apprentice

—— Eckstein's wife Catharine  
and child

Maria Echard

Philip Edenborn, carpenter

Phil. Edenborn, flower-merch.

John Edmundson

Edward Edwards's two children

Ephraim Edwards, labourer

John Edwards, sailor

Abigail Edwards's child

Morgan Edwards, hatter

John Edwards

Samuel Edwards and wife

William Edwards, silversmith,  
and child

Catharine Egan

James Eggar

Martin Ehrhard's daughter

Elizabeth Ehrenzellers

Jacob Ehringer

Mary Eidenfield, servant

Ann Eiler

John Eifenbrey, tavern-keeper

Richard Elber's child

Francis Elcock

David Elder, clerk

Sarah Elder

David Elder and wife

John Element, coachman

J. Elfrey, cooper, wife & child

Catharine Elfry

Josiah Elfrith, joiner

Laurence Ellers and wife

William Ellery

Isaac Elliot

John Elliot

Mary Elliot

Hannah Ellis

Elizabeth Ellis and child

Samuel A. Ellis

Ann Elmore

Margt. Elmslie, from Scotland

Sarah Ellsworth

Joseph Elum, merchant

Elfy, a black

Andrew Elwine

Hannah Elwins, a child

Baitzer Emerick's two sons

Lætitia Emuel

Maria Emelott

Widow Emmeret

Jacob Enk, tailor, & 3 sons, viz.

Philip Enk, teller in B. U. S. }

Henry Enk, linen-draper }

Peter Enk, tailor }

Jacob Endre's brother in-law

Catharine Enger, and child

Christian Englehot, labourer

James Engles's child

John Engles, merchant

John English

Jacob Erringer, weaver

Peter Erston, wife & 2 children

Anthony John Escorcio, clerk

Frederic Esker, baker

Christian Esling

Barbara Esly

Jacob Esler, blacksmith

Margaret Estling

George Eswin's wife

Adam Etner

Elizabeth Ettrick

Matthew Ettrick's wife

Ettienne J. Eude's child

John Evans's child

Magdalen Evans

Joseph Evans.

Mary Evans

James Evans

Mary Evans, a hired girl

Nancy Evans

Philip Evans, house-carpenter

Phillis Evans

Rowland Evans, merchant

Rowland Evans

Israel Everly, shoemaker

Widow Eberman

Anthony Everhardt, labourer

William Evil

John Ewen's two children

Thomas Ewing's two children

John Eysenbry, tavern-keeper

Henry Facundus, shoemaker,  
and wife



John Fairus, ship-carpenter  
 Mary Faires  
 Arthur Falconer, Jr.  
 Hannah Falkenburger, Germ.  
 Casper Farner's wife  
 Joseph Farren, jun.  
 John Farren  
 Edward Farren's child  
 John Farrow, shoemaker  
 John Fasser  
 Michael Fatty's two children  
 John Fauser's son  
 William Favel, baker  
 Samuel Faringer's wife  
 Charles Fearis, seaman  
 Tobias Febias  
 Widow Feller's child  
 Jacob Felty, Germ.  
 Fenix Fenner, labourer  
 Daniel Fenance, a child  
 Joseph Fenny  
 Daniel Fenton, shoemaker, and  
 wife  
 David Fenton, shoemaker, and  
 wife  
 Thomas Fenton, jun.  
 Philip T. Fentham, druggist  
 Widow Fenton  
 Thomas Fenton, sail-maker  
 ——— Ferely, widow  
 Widow Ferglass  
 Elizabeth Ferguson  
 Samuel Ferguson  
 Robert Ferguson, brick-layer  
 Thomas Ferguson, printer  
 Barnabas Ferris, clerk  
 John Ferris  
 Francis Ferris, clerk  
 Ann Margaret Fidlers, widow  
 Barbara Field  
 Charles Field, chair-maker  
 Peter Field's wife  
 Widow Filler  
 Thomas Fielder  
 Catharine Fiete  
 William Finifter, farmer  
 Francis Finley  
 Charles Findley, grave-digger  
 Jane Findley  
 Michael Finn's child

William Finn, hatter  
 Charles Finney's daughter  
 Joseph Finney  
 John Fink, porter  
 Charles Fink, shoemaker  
 Hannah Firmir  
 William Firm  
 William Finister  
 Ann Fisher, servant  
 Catharine Fisher, servant  
 David Fisher, labourer  
 Jabez, son of Miers Fisher  
 John Fisher  
 Robert Fisher  
 Henry Fisher, starch-maker,  
 and wife  
 Patrick Fisher, shoemaker  
 John Fisher and daughter  
 Samuel Fisher, button-plater,  
 Eng.  
 Zachariah Fisher's child  
 Samuel Fisher, hatter  
 Sarah Fisher, servant  
 Samuel Fishinger's wife  
 Jacob Fisler, tailor  
 Anthony Fister  
 Jacob Fister, labourer, and wife  
 Christopher Fite, shoemaker,  
 Germany  
 Adam Fister, carpenter  
 Margaret Fitzgerald  
 William Fitzgerald, tailor  
 Gerald Fitzsimmons  
 Jeremiah Fitzsimmons, painter  
 John Fitzsimmons  
 Philip Flack, joiner  
 George Flauer's daughter  
 George Fleck's wife  
 Jacob Fleck's six children  
 Reverend Francis A. Fleming,  
 catholic clergyman  
 Margaret Fleim  
 Hugh Fleming, tavernkeeper  
 Hugh Fleming, son of do.  
 Samuel Fleming, sen.  
 Samuel Fleming, jun.  
 Elizabeth Fletcher  
 Charles Flick, wife and child  
 David Flickwir, confectioner,  
 wife, and son

- James Flinn  
 Mary Flinn  
 Anne Flint, widow  
 Flora, a black girl  
 Monf. Florio, Fr.  
 Margaret Flour  
 George Flowers's child  
 Eliza. Faggie  
 Mary Faggie, daughter of do.  
 William Faggie  
 Elizabeth Follows, widow  
 Widow Folwell's child  
 Isaac L. Folwell, tailor  
 Daniel Ford, farmer  
 George Forde's child  
 George Ford, hostler  
 Fortune Ford  
 Alexander Foreman's daughter  
 John Forester  
 William Forester, labourer  
 John Forfe  
 Thomas Forster, hatter  
 Nicholas Fosberg, church-clerk  
 Nicholas Fosberg, sen. painter  
 Ann Foster  
 Margaret Fossom, Germ.  
 Wife of George Founce, fisherman  
 Lemuel Fowles and child  
 George Fowme, fisherman  
 William Fowles, musician  
 Dorothy Fox  
 Robert Fox  
 George Fox and three children  
 George Fox  
 Garret Foyer  
 Frederic Foy  
 James Frampton  
 George France  
 Joseph France  
 Rebecca Francis  
 Jacob Franks's wife  
 David Franks  
 David S. Franks, assistant cashier of the U. S. B.  
 Catharine Fraim  
 Elizabeth Fraser, in the Widows' Hospital  
 Mary Fraser  
 Robert Fraser  
 John Frederick, labourer  
 Anthony Freeborn, shoemaker  
 Tobias Freeborough  
 Jacob Freeborn, tobaccoist  
 Tobias Freebush, shoemaker  
 Isaac Freeman  
 Jacob Freneau  
 Catharine Freeth, servant  
 Philip Fries, labourer  
 William French  
 Susannah French, nurse  
 Charles French's daugh. Eliza.  
 7 French strangers (names unknown)  
 Michael Frick, carter  
 Jacob Frilander, labourer  
 Abry Friend, negro  
 Elizabeth Friend  
 John Fritz, tailor  
 John Fritz, tavern-keeper  
 Elizabeth Frost  
 Joseph Fromp, apprentice  
 James Fruger  
 Jacob Fry, apprentice  
 Jane Fry  
 Mary Fry, wife of Joseph Fry  
 Joseph Fry, junior  
 George Fudge's wife, & daugh.  
 John Eagle, wife, and two sons  
 Jacob Fulton  
 Widow Fuller  
 Henry Furgurson, tailor, and wife  
 William Fusselback's child  
 Peter Gabriel, baker  
 Ferdinand Gabriel  
 Mary Gabriel  
 Sarah Gainer  
 Mary, daugh. of Ja's Gallagher  
 Daniel Gallagher  
 Ally Gallagher  
 Michael Gallimore, farmer  
 Sarah Galloway, Æt. 75  
 Mary Ann Gally  
 Elizabeth Galler  
 Catharine Gallinger  
 John Gamber's child  
 John Gambles's wife  
 Mary Ganno  
 Elizabeth Gans  
 Drusilla Gardner,  
 Michael Garcoin  
 Elizabeth Gardner

Elizabeth Gardner, servant  
 Wife of Ja's Gardner, sailor  
 John Gardner, shoemaker  
 Mary Gardner  
 Richard Gardner, tea-dealer  
 Benjamin Gardener  
 Widow Margaret Gardner  
 Mr. ——— Garre  
 Andrew Garter  
 John Gartner, labourer  
 Mary Garret  
 Thomas Garrette, apprentice  
 Elizabeth Garrett  
 Thomas Garrigues, hatter  
 Samuel Garrigues's wife & son  
 Andrew Gartly  
 John Gartly  
 Sarah Gashner  
 Valentine Gashner's daughter  
 Galper Gashner, shoemaker, son  
 and daughter  
 George Gashner's son  
 John Gartly  
 Andrew Gatley  
 William Gaußlin  
 Adolph Gaul, butcher  
 Joseph Gaven  
 John Gawn, taylor, and child  
 Widow Gebhard and daughter  
 Rachel Gebhard  
 Dorothy Geir  
 Christian Gensel, porter  
 John Gelhar, labourer  
 Wife of John Genther, taylor  
 George Genslin's child  
 Margaret Genther  
 Robert George  
 Michael Gering's child  
 John Getts, plasterer, and wife  
 Jacob Geyer, taylor  
 Isaac Geyer's son  
 Henry Gilbert, cabinet-maker  
 John Gibard  
 Margaret Gibson, and child  
 Andrew Gibson's wife  
 Mary Ann Gibson  
 Robert Gibson, cabinet-maker  
 Nancy Gibson  
 George Gilbert's wife  
 Michael Gilbert, potter  
 Ruth Gilbert

Sarah Gilbert, servant  
 James Gilchrist, merchant, Eng.  
 William Gilchy's wife  
 John Gill, tallow-chandler, &  
 child  
 Joseph Gill  
 Sarah Gill  
 John Gillingham  
 Mary Gillingham, spinster  
 Mrs. Girard  
 Mrs. Gilmore  
 Margaret Ginther  
 John Ginther, tailor, and wife  
 William Girtin  
 Mr. Gisin  
 Ferdinand Glancey, labourer  
 Nathaniel Glover, merchant  
 Elizabeth Glynn  
 Benjamin Glynn  
 Peter Glentworth, physician  
 Michael Gleenson's child  
 John Gobblegought, Germ.  
 Mary Godin  
 William Gadfrey  
 ——— Golden, hairdresser, Boston  
 Martha Goldsmith, widow  
 Thomas Goldrick  
 Henry Goldson, apprentice  
 Henry Golzer  
 John Good, labourer, Germany  
 Joseph Good, wife and child  
 Mary Good, from Bucks' county  
 Michael Good, brickmaker  
 Moses Goodman, labourer  
 George Goodman's child  
 James Goodwin  
 Abraham Gordon, carpenter  
 Elizabeth Gordon  
 John Gordon, Jr.  
 Peter Gordon, shoemaker  
 Enoch Gordon  
 Richard Goren's child  
 Michael Gorran  
 James Gorham, carpenter and  
 button-maker  
 William Gosling, house-carpen-  
 ter  
 Catharine Gosner, Germ.  
 Joseph Gosner, jun.  
 Sarah Gosner, servant  
 S. Hagelgans, stocking-weaver

Catharine Hagar  
 John Gotze, plasterer, and wife  
 Morris Gough, ship carpenter,  
 wife and two children  
 James Gowan, sailor  
 Joseph Gowan  
 George Grace, labourer  
 Jacob Grace's wife  
 Rev. Laurence Graefel, catho-  
 lic pastor  
 Batty Graff's child  
 John Graff's wife  
 Jacob Graff, mason  
 Thomas Graham  
 Dr. Graham, late of New York  
 Robert Graham  
 Duncan Graham, carpenter  
 Mary Graham  
 John Graham, stone-cutter  
 Casper Graitt's daughter  
 Jonathan Grammer  
 William Grant, tailor  
 Alexander Graves's wife  
 Ludwick Graver's child  
 William Gravenstone  
 John Gray, rope-maker  
 Peter Gray's child  
 Joseph Gray  
 Thomas Gray, jun.  
 Robert Greaves, hair-dresser  
 George Greble, cooper  
 Elizabeth Green and child  
 Edward Green, ship-carpenter  
 Michael Green  
 James Green's wife & daughter  
 Susanna Greens  
 John Green's child  
 John Green, labourer, Jr.  
 Isaac Green, labourer  
 John Green  
 Solomon Green, tobacconist  
 William Greenville  
 Levander Greff  
 John Greenward  
 Benjamin Greiner, nailor  
 Archibald Greenlap  
 John Greisberger's wife  
 Ann Gregory, widow Æt. 60  
 Malcolm Gregory  
 Thomas Gregory, cooper  
 Christian Gregory's child  
 Ann Gregg

John Grebant, labourer  
 John Gribble  
 George Gribble, cooper  
 Jonathan Grice, shipwright  
 Joseph Grieve's wife  
 John Grier, and wife  
 Thomas Griffiner  
 Mary Griez, widow, Æt. 63  
 Levander Griffee  
 Mary Griffen  
 Sellwood Griffin, blockmaker  
 William Griffin  
 Margaret Grindle  
 John Griffin  
 Samuel Griscam, carpenter  
 Rebecca Griscam, wife of do.  
 Casper Grisgam, sawyer, Jr.  
 Ann Griggs  
 William Griggen  
 Sam. Griskel, carpenter, & wife  
 Catharine Grogan  
 John Gross's wife  
 Widow Gross  
 Widow Grossings  
 Joseph Groves, tailor  
 Jacob Groves, blacksmith  
 Margaret Groves  
 John Grubb, carpenter  
 John Grubb, jun. carpenter  
 James Grumman's child  
 John Gryce, sail-maker  
 Henry Guel  
 Geo. Gueneau's wife, & child  
 Mr. — Guerre  
 John Guest, sen.  
 Judas Guier  
 Marcus Gunn  
 Neil Gunn, labourer  
 Daniel Gurney's child  
 William Gurton, and wife  
 James Guthrie, carpenter  
 John Gutts, plasterer, and wife  
 Jacob Gueyer, son of ditto  
 Frederic Haas  
 Matthew Haas  
 Mary Haas  
 John Habear  
 Catharine Hatline, spinster  
 Daniel Hatline, blacksmith  
 William Haft, shoemaker, wife,  
 and apprentice  
 Susanna Haga



- Valentine Hagner, sen. cooper  
 Valentine Hagner, junior  
 Elizabeth Hagner  
 Andreas Haidt, smith  
 Andreas Haft  
 Wm. Haft, shoemaker, & wife  
 Samuel Hailagus, stocking-weaver  
 David Hailer, surgeon  
 Frederick Hailer's wife  
 Widow Hailey  
 John Haltzel, tailor  
 John Haines's wife  
 Dorothy Hains  
 Reuben Haines, sen. brewer,  
 Margaret Haines, wife of ditto  
 George Hake, cooper  
 Jacob Halberstott  
 Charles Halden, hatter  
 Sebastian Hale, or Ale, grave-digger  
 Thomas Hale, bell-hanger  
 Patrick Haley, labourer  
 Penelope Haley  
 Philip Hall, butcher, Germ.  
 Dorothy Hall  
 Parry Hall and daughter  
 Elizabeth Hall  
 John Hall  
 Samuel Hall, labourer, Eng.  
 Mrs. Haller  
 Philip Haller, cooper  
 John Hallet, hair-dresser, and wife  
 Charles Hallick's sister  
 Anthony Haman  
 Charles Hambleton's wife  
 Henry Hambleton  
 Abraham Hambright's wife  
 Joseph D. Hamelin, French tutor  
 Alexander Hamilton's wife  
 James Hamilton  
 John Hamilton, apprentice  
 Mary Hamilton  
 William Hamilton  
 Unity Hammel  
 Margaret Hammon  
 Jacob Hammond, sugar-baker, wife and child, Germ.  
 Nicholas Hampstead's son and daughter  
 Elizabeth Hampstead  
 Child of Samuel Hampton, grocer  
 Thomas Hampton  
 Michael Hanaghan, servant  
 John Hanks's maid  
 Capt. Jacob Hand's widow  
 George Haney, carpenter, and wife  
 John Haney, labourer, Jr.  
 John Hannah and child  
 Joseph Hanna, tailor  
 Christian Hanna  
 Andrew Hanna  
 William Hannan  
 Wife of Barnet Hansell, tailor  
 Andrew Hanish  
 Mr. Hansell, Germ.  
 Wife of Christian Hanselman, tailor  
 John Haragel, baker  
 Thomas Harden  
 Eve Harding  
 James Harding, sawyer  
 Hannah Harding  
 William Hardiness's wife  
 James Hardy  
 Jane Hardey  
 John Hare, labourer  
 William Harklife  
 Jacob Harlman and wife  
 Joseph Harman, hair-dresser  
 Mary Herman  
 Temperance Harmer  
 Sarah Harmer  
 Alexander Harme  
 Nicholas Harmitadt, and daughter  
 Jane Harned  
 Hannal Harnsey  
 Christopher Harper's daughter  
 Henry Harper, hair-dresser  
 Mary Harper  
 Joseph Harper's three children  
 William Harper's wife and child  
 John Harragan, tailor  
 Michael Harragan, smith  
 Thomas Harrell, farmer  
 Edward Harris's wife  
 John Harris and wife

William Harris	John Haynes, apprentice
Peale Harris	Catharine Haynes
Thomas Harris, sadler	Ruth Haynes
William P. Harris, clerk	Hannah Hazard
Widow Harris	James Hazelet, weaver, Jr.
Elizabeth Harris	Charles Hazzleton
Hazel Harriot	John Heartenough's wife
Mary Harrison, nurse	Chris. Heatley, merchant's wife
Jane Harrison	Harriot, wife of Charles Heatly
Sarah Harrison	George Heck, cooper
Margaret Harrison	Samuel Head's daugh. Mary
Jacob Hart, pilot	—— Hebert, a Frenchman
Laurence Hart, storekeeper	Anthony Hecht, labourer
Rachel Hart	Charles Heitberger, butcher
Thomas Hart, shoemaker, Eng.	John Helm's child
John Hartford, coachman	Jacob Heiberger's child
Sarah Hartley, Eng.	George Heiberger's son
Susanna Hartley	John Heiberger, baker
Anthony Hartman	Roger Heffernan
Jacob Hartman, apprentice	John Heffernan, school-master
Peter Hartman's wife	William Heifzer, painter
Lewis Hartman	Widow Heil
John Hartrau's wife	John Heil's child
Elizabeth Harvey	Anna Maria Heintzen
Elizabeth Harvey, schoolmistress, Eng.	John Heiser, hatter
Samuel Harvey, apprentice	Francis Helfrick's wife & child
Philip Hasenbach, labourer	Elizabeth Held
Wm. Hassel, sen. tavern-keeper	Peter Helt's wife
Isaac Hartings, student	Catharine Hem
Lydia Hatfield	James Hendrick, sen. cutler
James Hattriotz, baker	James Henderson's wife
Jacob Hausshaw's young woman	Redmond Henderson
John Hanskins, shoemaker	Thomas Henderson's child
William Hautzel, weaver	Mary Henderson
—— Hausman's daughter	Ann Hendrick
Henry Hausten	Wilhelmina Hedrick, and four servants
Christian Hautzel, carter	Elizabeth Hedrick
Christopher Hauser's wife	Martha Hemphill
Jacob Hawes	John Henna
Anna Maria Hawan	Patrick Hennabody, coach-maker, wife and daughter
Hugh Hawthorn, tailor	John Henan's child
Mary Hawthorn	Michael Hennafey
William Hays, ironmonger	John Henigel, baker
Michael Hay, wife, and three sons, John, Peter, and Charles	John Henry, jeweller
Joseph Hay	Margaret Henry
Martha Hays,	Christopher Hensner's daugh.
Jacob Hays	Wife of Henry Henson, brush-maker
Mary Hays, of Allentown	Michael Henszey
Catharine Hayes, a stranger	George Hercules, a negro

- William Hercules, shoemaker  
 Elizabeth Herleman  
 George Herman, baker  
 George Herlemin  
 William Herman's wife  
 William Hertzog, labourer  
 Christopher Herrely, labourer  
 John Herrill  
 Wife of Nicholas Hefs, blacksmith  
 George Hefs's sister  
 Isaac Heston  
 — Hetnick, baker  
 Israel Hewlings, shoemaker  
 Joseph Hewlings, bricklayer  
 Henry Hewmes, coppersmith  
 John Huson, sailor  
 Mrs. Hewit  
 Andrew Hews  
 John Heyberger, jun.  
 Mary Heyberger  
 John Heyburn  
 Andrew Heyd's son  
 Benja. Hickman's wife & son  
 David Hickman, clerk  
 Joseph Hicks, gluemaker  
 John Hicks  
 Richard Hicks  
 John Hierson, hatter  
 William Hickert's wife  
 John Jacob Hiertman, malster  
 Angel Higgenbottom  
 William Higgenbottom  
 Joseph Higgins  
 Mary Hightson  
 Susannah Higgin, widow  
 Martin Hilderburn, sieve-maker  
 Wife of George Hill, clerk  
 Robert Hill  
 Wife of Jacob Hill, fisherman  
 James Hill, bricklayer  
 James Hill, clerk  
 John Hill, chair-maker  
 Johannah Hill, jun.  
 John Hill's daughter  
 Samuel Hill, Jr.  
 James Hillman, apprentice  
 Jacob Hillman, blacksmith  
 Catharine Hillner  
 Jacob Hilfinger, labourer  
 William Hiltzheimer  
 Mary Hinan  
 George Hinckel, watchman  
 John Hinckel's son  
 Christop'r Hineman's daughter  
 Jane Hiltridge  
 George Hinton, cutler  
 Mrs. Hirst  
 Mary Hirrine  
 George Hishatters  
 Samuel Hampton's son  
 Henry Haare, cardmaker  
 John Hobson, sievemaking  
 Barbara Hackensoffe  
 John Hockley, ironmonger  
 Elizabeth Hobson  
 Jeffrey Hadnet, sadler, and son  
 Christopher Hocknoble  
 Catharine Hoff  
 Catharine Hoffman  
 Regina Hoffman  
 Isaac Hoffman, sailor  
 Henry Hoffman, baker  
 Susanna Hoffman  
 Jacob Hoffner, schoolmaster,  
 Germ.  
 Philip Hofner, carter  
 Michael Hoft's son  
 Edward Hogan's two children  
 Dr. Hodge's child  
 Andrew Hodge's child  
 Joseph Hogg, carpenter, of  
 New-Jersey  
 Anna Catharina Hefflein  
 Jacob Holberstadt, labourer  
 Charles Hold, hatter  
 Benjamin Holden, mason  
 Charles Holden  
 Wm. Holderness's son Thomas  
 Samuel Holgate  
 William Holklow  
 Barbara Hollard, widow  
 Philip Hollard, cooper  
 John Holmes, farmer  
 Sarah Holmes, widow  
 Sarah  
 Thomas Holmes's wife  
 Moses Homberg, innkeeper  
 George Honigs  
 William Honck, wife and child,  
 turner  
 Christopher Honey  
 John Honecker and wife

- George Honiker's wife and child  
 Joseph Holton  
 Martha Holton  
 Sarah Honor, widow  
 George Hoochey  
 Sarah Hoop  
 John Hoover's wife  
 Andrew Hope, jun.  
 William Hope, tinman  
 John Hopkins, jun. silver-smith  
 John Hopkins's wife  
 Joseph Hopkins, hatter, of Virginia  
 Mary Hopkins  
 Mary Hopkins, a servant  
 Richard Hopkins  
 Thomas Hopkins, ship-joiner  
 Joseph Hopper, joiner  
 Ludwick Hopler  
 Chriltian Hopfal, labourer  
 Henry Hore  
 Henry Horne, schoolmaster, and three children  
 Mary Horne, Germ.  
 Eliz. Hornor, daughter of Benjamin  
 Mary Horndriver  
 Philip Herslepaugh, shoemaker, Winchester  
 William Hotts  
 Azariah Horton  
 Caleb Hoskins, of Burlington  
 Benjamin Houlton  
 Anthony Hotman  
 John Houtan  
 Winnefred Houghey's child  
 Catharine House, Germ.  
 Elizabeth Houchen  
 Abby Houseman  
 Jacob Houseman, carpenter  
 Joseph Houts, hair-dresser  
 William Houtson, weaver  
 John Hover's wife  
 Mr. Howard  
 John Howard, paper-maker, Eng.  
 Thomas Howe, rope-maker  
 Jacob R. Howell, notary public  
 Jacob S. Howell  
 Isaac Howell's wife Patience  
 Mr. Howell  
 Catharine Howsty  
 Adam Hubley, vendue-master  
 John Huber's child  
 William Hudson, wool-comber  
 Peter Hudson  
 Joseph Hudell's wife Sarah  
 Benjamin Huggins  
 Ellis Hughes, whitesmith  
 Caleb Hughes's child and two apprentices  
 Garret Hughes and wife  
 John, son of Hugh Henry  
 Henry Hughes  
 George Hughes's child  
 William Hughes, breechesmaker, Scotland  
 Frederic Huler, sailer's wife  
 Diana Hulford  
 Abraham Hulings' wife  
 Oliver C. Hull, apothecary  
 Joshua Humphreys, Æt. 86  
 Hannah Humphreys, daughter of do.  
 John Humphreys's child  
 Richard Humphreys, storekeeper  
 Gabriel Humphreys's child  
 James Hunt, clerk  
 William Hunt, tailor  
 Ann Hunter's child  
 John Hunter, carpenter  
 William Hunter, tavern-keeper and child  
 John Hunter's daughter  
 John Husey  
 Charles Hunsman  
 Mr. Hustick's child  
 Elizabeth Huston, seamstress  
 John Huston, print cutter, Eng.  
 James Hutchinson, physician, his child and apprentice  
 George Hutamn, hair-dresser  
 Rebecca Hutman, a child  
 John Hurey  
 Mary Hynin  
 William Hyser, painter, Germ.  
 Maria Hyson, Germ.  
 Peter Ilett  
 John Infell's daughter Mary  
 ——— Inglis, storekeeper  
 John Ingles, merchant, of York-shire



Wife of Joseph Inglis, carter  
 John Inkson, apprentice  
 Joseph Irvine  
 Oliver Irvine, hatter  
 Jacob Irwin  
 Mrs. Irwin  
 Sarah Irwin  
 James Iskin  
 Robert Jacks, schoolmaster  
 Robert Jacks, shoemaker  
 David Jackson  
 Diana Jackson's child  
 ——— Jackson  
 James Jackson  
 John Jackson, drayman  
 Joseph Jackson's child  
 Miss ——— Jackson  
 Thomas Jackson  
 Wid. Jackson, of Wilmington  
 George Jacob's wife  
 George Jacobs, blacksmith  
 John Jacobs, porter  
 John Jacobs, painter  
 Nicholas Jacobs's son  
 Jacob, a blackman  
 James, a blackman  
 Jacob James  
 Margaret James, a child  
 Martha James  
 ——— Jameson, labourer  
 Edward Jamison  
 Helena Jamison  
 John Jamison, cooper  
 Matthew Jamison  
 Wm. Jamison, carpenter  
 William Jamison, tailor  
 William Jamison's child  
 Jane ———, a black woman  
 Doctor Janus's daughter  
 Martha Jafon, spinster  
 John Jarman jun.  
 John Jauck, brushmaker  
 F. Laurejai, Fr.  
 William Jeffry  
 John Jenkins's son Samuel  
 Jacob Jennings, store-keeper  
 John Jenny, ship-carpenter  
 Elizabeth Jobards, widow  
 John Jobb, painter  
 Joseph Jobb, stocking-weaver  
 John Jobline  
 Hannah Jodon

Peter Jodon  
 ——— Johnson's wife, & child  
 Catharine Johnson's child  
 James Johnson  
 Jonas Johnson, tavern-keeper  
 Mary Johnson, servant  
 Samuel Johnson, printer  
 Susannah Johnson  
 Robert Johnson, physician  
 Robert Johnson, shoemaker  
 William Johnson, joiner  
 Barney Johnson  
 Francis Johnson  
 John Johnson  
 Margaret Johnson, widow  
 Mary Johnson, widow  
 Robert Johnson, baker  
 Samuel Johnson, painter  
 Ann Jones  
 Charles Jones, conveyancer  
 Daniel Jones  
 Elizabeth Jones  
 Child of Ely Jones, clerk  
 Stelena Jones, stay-maker  
 George Jones, blacksmith  
 Jane Jones, mantua-maker  
 Joab Jones, tailor  
 John Jones's wife  
 Mary Jones, widow  
 Mary Jones's son  
 Matthew Jones's daughter  
 Owen Jones, sen. *Æt.* 82  
 Patience Jones  
 Rebecca Jones, keeper of a  
     lodging-house  
 Rowland Jones, clerk  
 Ruth Jones  
 Sarah Jones, widow  
 Widow Jones's daughter  
 William Jones, merchant  
 William Jones, labourer, and  
     wife  
 Hannah Jordan, Ir.  
 Henry Jordan's wife  
 James Jordan, chairmaker  
 Samuel Jordan, turner  
 Joseph, a blackman  
 George Jost  
 John Jourdan, coachman  
 Jude, a blackwoman  
 Jacob Judah

- Judith, a black woman  
 Juliana, a mulatto  
 Cornelia Julio  
 Catharine Jung  
 Jacob Jung's daughter  
 David Justice, apprentice  
 John Justice's child  
 William M. Justice, printer  
 Joseph Kaenerle  
 Jacob Kales, labourer  
 John Kalkbrenner's wife  
 Godfrey Kartis, shoemaker  
 Jacob Kates, labourer  
 Elizabeth Katten, Carlisle  
 Catharine Kattz  
 Elizabeth Kattz and two children  
 John Kattz's wife  
 Isaac Kattz's wife  
 Michael Kattz's child  
 Mary Karn  
 Jacob Hauffman's son  
 John Kean's two children  
 Joseph Kean's child  
 Hugh Kean's child  
 Mary Kean  
 Matthew Kean's daughter  
 Elizabeth Keen and child  
 John Keen's child  
 Joseph Keen  
 Mary Keen  
 Susannah Keigen  
 Elizabeth Kell  
 James Kellenan  
 George Kelly, harness-maker  
 Mrs. Kelly  
 Christopher Kellman and wife  
 Joseph Kemel's son  
 Henry Kemp  
 William Kemp  
 Martha Kempfill, servant  
 — Kenny  
 Mrs. Keppele  
 John Keppler, shoemaker  
 William Kennedy, labourer  
 John Kennon  
 Casper, Peter and Catharine  
 Kensinger  
 Thomas Kenrick, store-keeper  
 Elizabeth Kenton  
 John Kerbeck  
 William Kerls, porter  
 Adam Kerr's widow  
 Andrew Kerr, labourer  
 James Kerr's widow  
 Prude Kerr  
 Abigail Kessler  
 Jacob Kessler's wife  
 John Kessler, hair-dresser  
 Leonard Kessler  
 Michael Kessler, ship-joiner  
 Lucy Keating  
 Christian Keyser, blacksmith  
 Daniel Keyser, labourer  
 Joseph Keyser, grocer  
 Jacob Kitchlien, butcher  
 George Kichn's daughter  
 Christian Kiegler  
 Thomas Kildrick  
 John Killgour  
 George Killinger  
 Peter Killinger  
 Philip Killinger, carpenter  
 Richard Killpatrick  
 Caleb Kimber, schoolmaster  
 Aaron Kimber, son of do.  
 Jacob Kimely  
 Wife of Casper Kinck, shoemaker  
 Catharine King  
 Charles King  
 Elizabeth King, widow  
 — King  
 George King, coach-painter  
 Hugh King's two children  
 John King and child  
 Mary King  
 Joseph Kingsley  
 Margaret Kingl  
 Ann Kinley  
 Joseph Kinnear's child  
 Christopher Kinness, tailor  
 Christopher Kinns, labourer  
 George Kinsinger and wife  
 Hanah Kinsinger  
 — Kipsley, furrier  
 Mrs. Kirk and child  
 John Kirk, a lad  
 Thomas Kirk, baker  
 Catharine Kite  
 Elizabeth Kite  
 Jonathan Kite, chair-maker  
 wife and three children

Casper Kitts

Jacob Kitts, chandler, son and cousin

Mrs. Kitts

Catharine Klady

Margaret Klady

Widow Klepper

Christian Klibbie, weaver and child

Andrew Kline's wife

John Kline, labourer

Nicholas Klingeler, cooper

Mary Klingle

Charles Knight, biscuit-baker

Hannah Knight

John Knight, tailor

John Knight, sailor

Sarah Knight

Daniel Knodle

Elizabeth Knows, servant

Mary Knows

Adam Knox

Richard Knox's child

Mary Koan

George Kock, labourer, his wife Catharine and son

John Kock

Widow Kock

Joseph Kock

Widow Koenner

George Kor's child

Peter Krafter and daughter

Christop'r Kreyder, tobacconist

Wife of George Kribbs, shoemaker

Susannah Kribner, Æt. 70

John Krieffe, cooper

John Kroll, hair-dresser

Joachim Krenaver, labourer

Henry Krotto's child

Catharine rotten

Barbara Krunkoster

Abraham Krup, carpenter

John Kruteer

James Kubber

Christop'r Kucher, sugar-baker

Philip Kucher, his son

Bernard Kuffler

Wife of Frederick Kuhl

George Kuhn's wife

Jacob Kuhn's wife

John Kuhn's son

Ludwig Kuhn, clerk

Widow Kuhn

Jacob Kuncle's son

Martin Kernotler

George Kurtz

Daniel Kuren, labourer

John Lack's daughter

Lætitia ———

Daniel Lafferty and child, Jr.

Matthew Lafferty's child

John Lambsback, labourer

——— Lammoron's child

Arch. Lamont's wife, and children

Mrs. Lamont, child, and journeyman

Elizabeth Lancaster

Wife and child of Joseph Lancaster, labourer, Eng.

Joseph Landre, labourer

Margaret Landress

Nancy Lane

Mrs. Lane

Margaret Lang

Edward Langman

Huson Langstroth, paper-maker

Jacob Lanteshlag

Andrew Lapp and wife

Laurence Lapp, baker

Michael Lapp, baker, and wife

James Lapsley, steward to the

British ambassador

—— Lapsley's wife & daughter

—— Lapsley, shoemaker

James Lapsley, schoolmaster, and daughter Elizabeth

Patrick Larken, clerk

Ralph Larremore's wife

Mary Lasher

Patrick Lasky

Frederic Lunderbruns, surgeon-barber

Jacob Louterman's wife and two sons

George Lautinshlager's sister

Jacob Lauderfliver, shoemaker

Margaret Lauderfliver

Frederic Lauman

Aaron S. Laurence, clerk, and wife

Alexander Lawrence, sen. merchant

Alexander Lawrence, jun. merchant

Archibald Lawrence's child	Jonathan, son of Mordecai Lewis
Charles Lawrence	is, merchant
Cherry Lawrence's wife	Isaac Lewis, tailor and wife
Christopher Lawrence	Lydia Lewis, widow
Jacob Lawrence's two children	Maria Lewis, mulatto
John Lawrence's wife	Mary Lewis
Joseph Laurence, apprentice	Michael Lewis's son
Rachel Lawrence	William Lewis, hairdresser
Sarah Lawrence	George Lex, butcher
Thomas Lea, merchant	Jacob Lex's child
J. T. Lea, son of do.	Widow Leybrandt
Thomas Leach, cabinet-maker	Christian Lickett
Margaret Leake, mantua-maker	Robert Lidler
Widow Lear's child	Peter Ligert
John Lebering's wife	Samuel Lilly, sailor
Paul Leck, labourer	John Limeburner's child
Francis J. Lecter	Mary Lindall
Ann Lee	Ruth Lindill
George Lee, apprentice	Thomas Lindall, carter
Joseph Lee, wife, and son Geo.	Elizabeth Lindsay
Mary Lee	Hester Lindsay
Thomas, son of Duncan Leech	Mary Lindsay
George Lees, tailor, wife, three children, and two other persons (names unknown)	Susannah Lindsay
John Lees, tailor	Philip Linion, bottler
Margaret Lees	George Linkinson, labourer
Joseph Le Feore	Elizabeth Linkfelt
William Lehman's wife	Margaret Linn, Scotland
Doctor John Leibert, junior	Neal Linn
Mic. Leibrand, breeches-maker	William Linnar, porter
Mathias Leigh, labourer	Wm. Linton, wife and sister
Michael Leigh	Widow Lintz
Robert Leigh	Hannah Lisburn, widow
John Leighy's child	Miss — Lisler
Andrew Leinaw, fadler	James Lesper
Samuel Leller	Joseph Lispar
James Lenox, apprentice	Catharine List
Abner Leonard	William Lethworth's child
Sarah Leonard	John Littman, son, & daughter
Francis Lesher, coach-maker	Catharine Lloyd
Francis Lesher, tavern-keeper and servant girl	Daniel Lloyd, apprentice
Philip Lesher's wife	William Lloyd
—— Letzinger's wife	Wood Lloyd, tilor
George Letzinger's wife	Mary Lobdell
Andrew Letton, shoemaker	Samuel Lobdell, carpenter
John Letton	John Lob's child
Moses Levy's girl	Elizabeth Locke, widow
Thomas Levy's wife	—— Loeffler's wife
—— Lewis's child	John Loh, and daughter
Catharine Lewis	William Lohman, rope-maker
	Wife of Peter Lohra, broker
	Ralph Loimer, sailor
	Patrick Lollar's boy



Herrman Jos. Lombaert, mer.	Robert M'Bay
Frederic Long	John M'Cabe, hairdresser
John Long, labourer, & son	Alice M'Cabin's wife
Richard Long, apprentice	Jenny M'Call
William Long, joiner	Daniel M'Calla's child
Joseph Lopez, servant to the	John M'Care
Spanish ambassador	Archibald M'Carey
Hannah Lorton, servant	William M'Carty, soapboiler
Abraham Lott, merchant	David M'Crea
— Louis, Fr.	James M'Claskie
Elizabeth Lovett	Widow M'Clatchee's 2. children
George Lovett's son	John M'Clelland
John Lowden, ferryman	John M'Cleuane
Rebecca Lowden	Andrew M'Clure
Thomas Lowden's wife	Daniel M'Clia, rope-maker
James Lowne	Alexander M'Cord
Edward Lowder	Eugenia M'Cordy
Sarah Lowder	Cornelius M'Cormick
William Lowman	Margaret, daughter of Henry
Agnes Lownes	M'Cormick
Ed. Lowry, labourer, & wife	Thomas M'Cormick, merchant
Hester Lucas	Archibald M'Cowen
Christopher Luckarts, carter,	John M'Coy
and wife	Ann Coy
John Martin Ludwig, butcher	Jonathan M'Cready
Thomas Ludwig	John M'Cready
Robert Lumsden, corder	James M'Creary
George Luntz's daughter	Margaret M'Crever
Lewis H. Luring, wife, & child	Catharine M'Croskie
Widow Luring	Eleanor M'Croskie, widow
Jacob Lufely, labourer	Elizabeth M'Cullen
Elizabeth Lushinger	Sarah M'Curdy
William Lushworm, labourer	Deborah M'Curtain
Catharine Lutz, Germ.	Thomas M'Curtain, school-
Christian Lutz's child	master, and wife
Ann Lyland	James M'Cutcheon
Benjamin Lyndall's child	Daniel M' Daniel
John Lynn, physician, of New	James M'Daniel, shoemaker
England	Daniel M'Darrel, aged 80
Mary Lynn	Martin M'Dermot, grocer
Mrs. — Lynn	Ann M'Donald, a child
Mary Lyons	Alexander M'Donald, labourer
Michael Lyons, sailer	Child of Donald M'Donald,
Philip Maad, labourer	painter
Jacob Macker's child	Elizabeth M'Donald
Peter Mack's wife	James M'Donald, shoemaker
John Maidscaw	John M'Donald, labourer
Daniel M'Allister	John M'Donald's child
James M'Allister, labourer	Mary M'Donald
Alexander M'Alpin, carpenter	William M'Donald, hatter
Walter M'Alpin, book-binder	Hugh M'Dougal, labourer
Daniel M'Arthur's child	William M'Dougal, tobacconist
Elizabeth M'Bay	Mrs. M'Dowel

- Wm. M'Dowel, tavern-keeper  
 Wm. M'Dowel  
 Edw. M'Echan, bricklayer, Ir.  
 Wm. M'Elvee, labourer  
 John M'Ewing, stone cutter  
 Enos M'Faden, labourer  
 James M'Faden's wife  
 Mary M'Faden  
 Ann M'Farben  
 Peter M'Garvey and wife  
 Edward M'Gechan  
 Helen M'Gechan and child  
 Margaret M'Gechan  
 Mary M'Gee  
 Edward M'Gill, drayman  
 Mary M'Gill,  
 Wm. M'Gill, school-master  
 Ann M'Ginley, housewife  
 Philip M'Ginnes's wife  
 John M'Glathery, a young man  
 Wm. M'Glochlin  
 Thomas M'Goldrick  
 John M'Gontis's child  
 John M'Gowan  
 Joseph M'Gowan, carpenter  
 Wm. M'Gowan  
 Barney M'Gran, labourer  
 Daniel M'Grath, porter  
 John M'Grath  
 Mich. M'Grath  
 James M'Graw  
 John M'Graw, sailor  
 Barney M'Green  
 ——— M'Griegle  
 Ann M'Gregor  
 John M'Gregor's child  
 Nancy M'Grotty  
 James M'Guillen  
 James M'Guire  
 Mary M'Guire, widow  
 Peter M'Guire  
 William M'Guire  
 John M'Hagan  
 John M'Illroy  
 Andrew M'Intire, joiner  
 Elizabeth M'Intosh  
 Laughlin M'Intosh  
 Edward M'Kegan  
 ——— M'Kegan, bricklayer  
 Anthony M'Kennely  
 Elizabeth M'Kenzie  
 Mary M'Kenzie, housewife  
 Murdock M'Kenzie  
 John M'Keon  
 William M'Key, apprentice  
 Daniel M'ee, sailor  
 Margaret M'Kigham  
 Isaac M'Kinby  
 Hugh M'Kinley  
 Mrs. M'Kinley  
 Isaac M'Kinley, hatter  
 John M'Knall  
 Alexander M'Lane  
 Daniel M'Lane  
 Jane M'Lane  
 ——— M'Lane, a stranger  
 John M'Lane's wife and two  
 children  
 Roger M'Lane  
 William M'Lane, sailor  
 Ann M'Laughlin  
 Giles M'Laughlin  
 John M'Laughlin  
 John M'Laughlin's wife  
 John M'Laughlin, merchant  
 Margaret, M'Laughlin and  
 child  
 Patrick M'Laughlin's son  
 William M'Laughlin, labourer  
 Wm. M'Laughlin, shoemaker  
 Agnes M'Lean  
 Elizabeth M'Lane  
 Jane M'Lean  
 John M'Lean, inspector  
 Joseph M'Lean, tailor  
 Martin M'Lean  
 Samuel M'Lean, shipwright  
 Archibald M'Leary, labourer  
 Joseph M'Lee  
 Mary M'Lenahan  
 Angus M'Leod's child  
 Daniel M'Leod's wife  
 Dougal M'Leod, labourer  
 John M'Leod  
 Malcolm M'Leod, labourer  
 Mary M'Leod  
 William M'Leod and daughter  
 Mary M'Linny  
 Hugh M'Mann  
 Philip M'Mannus, blacksmith  
 James M'Manyman, nailor,  
 and wife  
 Mary M'Manyman  
 John M'Manyman  
 Joseph M'Matlock, carpenter  
 Mary M'Michael, widow  
 Catharine M'Mullen  
 Neil M'Mullen

Francis M'Murren  
 John M'Nab, shipwright  
 John M'Nair, clerk  
 James M'Namara  
 Gordon M'Neal, sailor  
 John M'Neal, tailor  
 Mary M'Neal  
 John M'Near, apprentice  
 Felix M'Quid's wife  
 James M'Quillon, labourer  
 Sarah M'Rain  
 Milby M'Raper  
 Hugh M'Swaine and wife  
 James Mabey  
 ——— Mack, labourer  
 Sarah Mack  
 Elizabeth Madan  
 John Madan, shoemaker  
 Patrick Madan's wife  
 Leonard Madelen  
 Benjamin Mager, apprentice  
 Helena Mageniz  
 David Magner, carpenter  
 Michael Magraw, servant  
 Francis Major,  
 John Maitland  
 John Maloney  
 Catharine, widow of capt. John  
   Molowney  
 John Mannefield, joiner  
 Mary Mannefield  
 Mrs. Mann  
 William Mann, tailor  
 Charles Manson  
 Peter Marclay, cooper  
 Susannah Mareday, widow  
 Philip Mareland  
 Francis Marey  
 Laurence Marey, perfumer  
 John Baptiste Maris  
 John Mark, shopkeeper  
 Peter Marker, butcher  
 John Maronee, apprentice  
 Capt. James Marsh and brother  
 Curtis Marshal  
 Francis Marshall, bricklayer  
 Joseph Marshall, shoemaker  
 Joseph Marson  
 Philip Martan  
 James Martin's son  
 John Martin, saddler  
 John Martin's son  
 Sarah Martin, servant  
 Judah Masara  
 Thomas Masara

Abraham C. Mason, merchant  
 Arabella Mason  
 John Mason  
 Joshua Mason, blacksmith  
 Margaret Mason, Æt. 80  
 Richard Mason, engine-maker  
 ——— Mafs  
 Samuel Massey  
 Anne Mastett  
 J. Masters's wife and 3 children  
 John Maufe's wife and child  
 Ed. Mathias, wife, & daughter  
 Elizabeth Maxfield  
 John Maxfield, labourer  
 Stephen Maxfield's wife  
 Margaret Maxwell  
 Adam May's child  
 Capt. Mead's wife & daughter  
 Matthias Meeker, clerk  
 Gotlieb Meineke, labourer  
 John Meminger  
 Gotlieb Menigung, rope-maker  
 John Mentz, a lad  
 Ludwig Meo, of Amsterdam  
 Mary Mercer, widow  
 Joseph Mercier, and wife Ann  
 John Merck, store-keeper  
 Peter Merchel, butcher  
 Evan Meredith's wife Susannah  
 Samuel Merian, merchant  
 Jos. Merson, bridle-bit-cutter  
 Peter Merson  
 Miles Mervin, school-master, &  
   wife  
 John Mesner's wife  
 Barbara Mettelbury  
 Adam Meyers's daughter  
 Henry Meyers's apprentice  
 John Meyers's child  
 Peter Meyer, carter, and wife  
 Sebastian Meyer, baker  
 Thomas Meyer's wife, & daug.  
 Peter Miercken, sugar-refiner,  
 ——— Miers, wife and servant  
 Sarah Middleton, sen. widow  
 Sarah Middleton, jun. spinster  
 Sarah Mifflin } children of  
 Hester Mifflin } Charles  
 Thomas Miller's son Joseph  
 Andreas Miller's child  
 Anne Miller  
 Arthur Miller's child  
 Catharine Miller, widow  
 Charles Miller  
 Christian Miller, porter

- Christo. Miller, brush-maker  
 Dorothy Miller  
 George Miller, labourer  
 Hannah Miller  
 Henry Miller  
 James Miller's wife and two children  
 John Miller and child  
 Captain John Miller's widow  
 John Miller, carpenter  
 John Miller, carter  
 John Miller, clerk  
 John Miller, labourer  
 Isaac Miller, merchant  
 Margaret Miller  
 Mary Miller  
 Michael Miller, sen. shoemaker  
 Michael Miller's daughter  
 Richard Miller, student of law  
 Sufannah Miller  
 Widow Miller  
 William Miller, shoe-maker  
 Wife and child of Mr. Miller, rigger  
 Mary Millington  
 Philip Milligan's wife  
 Elizabeth Mills  
 Thomas Mills  
 Walter Mills, shoemaker  
 Edward Milner's wife & servant  
 Christian Minehart, sugar-baker  
 William Miner, servant  
 William Minor  
 Charles Minster, labourer  
 John Mintz  
 Elizabeth Miscamp  
 Elizabeth Mitchell  
 Jacob Mitchell's child  
 Mary Mitchell  
 Mary Mittinton  
 Veronia Mittman  
 Jacob Mirwan, and 2 children  
 William Modick's child  
 James Moffat, tailor  
 Rebecca Moffat  
 Rob't Moffat, waterman, wife and child  
 Catharine Molliner  
 George Moir  
 James Mollineux, and daugh.  
 John Mollineux's 2 children  
 Francis Monday  
 John Monday  
 Mary Monday  
 Elizabeth Montgomery  
 Child of John Montgomery, weaver  
 John Montgomery's 3 children  
 Dorothy Mood  
 Robert Moody, bricklayer  
 Mary Mooney  
 Ann Moore  
 Caroline, daughter of Thomas L. Moore  
 David Moore  
 Fanny Moore, servant, Germ.  
 George Moore  
 Major James Moore, livery-stable-keeper  
 Jane Moore  
 John Moore, painter, and child  
 Samuel Moore, blacksmith  
 Thomas Moore's child  
 Widow Moore  
 Wm. Moore and two children  
 John Moore  
 Joseph Mordeck, labourer  
 Eleanor Morgan, washerwoman  
 Hannah Morgan  
 Jacob Morgan, merchant  
 John Morgan, jun.  
 John Morgan's child  
 Mary Morgan  
 Robert Morphet  
 Ann Morris  
 Anthony P. Morris, china-merchant  
 Brooke Morris  
 George Morris, gardener  
 John Morris, clerk  
 John Morris, physician, and wife  
 John Morris's child  
 Luke Morris, *Æt.* 87  
 Martha Morris  
 Mary Morris  
 Richard B. Morris  
 Samuel W. Morris, apprentice  
 Samuel Morris, cooper  
 William Morris  
 Alexander Morison, storekeeper  
 John Morison, copper-smith  
 Wife and child of John Morison, labourer  
 John Morison's daughter  
 Isabella Morison  
 Mary Morison's child  
 — Morison, labourer, Scotl.



- Widow Morrison's child  
 William Morrison  
 John Morrow, jun. gunsmith  
 Mrs. ——— Morrow  
 Rosina Morrow  
 Alexander Mortimer, gardener  
 Deborah Morton  
 John Morton and apprentice  
 Christian Moser  
 Mary Mofs  
 Marquis Monbrun  
 Philip Mountree, brewer  
 Wife of Nicholas Muff, harness-  
 maker  
 Ann Mullen, mantua-maker  
 Catharine Mullen  
 Edward Mullen  
 James Mullen, hatter  
 James Mullen's wife  
 John Mullen, chairmaker  
 Mary Mullen  
 Michael Mullen's two children  
 Patrick Mullen  
 Robert Mullen, house-carpen-  
 ter, and apprentice  
 James Mullener, apprentice  
 Edmund Mullery, grocer  
 James Mumford, blacksmith  
 Major Henry Mumford  
 Rachel Mumford  
 Child of Robert Murdoch, la-  
 bourer  
 Sarah Murdoch  
 ——— Murley  
 Ann Murphy  
 John Murphy, black-smith  
 Mary Murphy  
 Michael Murphy's daughter  
 Richard Murphy  
 Susannah Murphy  
 Timothy Murphy  
 Margaret Murthwaite  
 Mary Murthwaite  
 Rev. Alexander Murray, D. D.  
 Eleanor Murray  
 James Murray, shoemaker, Ir.  
 Robert Murray's wife and child  
 Sarah Murray  
 William Murray  
 Mrs. ——— Musketts  
 Rebecca Musgrove, a stranger  
 Widow Musterholt  
 Adam Myers, baker  
 Catharine Myers  
 Hannah Myers, servant  
 Margaret Myers  
 Henry Myers, hair-dresser  
 John Myers's child  
 Margaret Myers  
 Michael Myers  
 Michael Mynick  
 Sophia Mynick  
 Adam Myon, labourer  
 John Myrietta  
 Jac. Mytinger, tavern-keeper,  
 and wife  
 Henry Nagle's mother-in-law  
 Mary Nagle  
 Hannah Nailor  
 John Nailor  
 Samuel Napp  
 William Nash, baker  
 Lewis Nafs, blacksmith  
 ——— Navarre  
 Thomas Nave's wife  
 Thomas Near  
 Israel Nedham, skinner, Engl.  
 Robert Neeley, sailer  
 Tho. Neeves, carpenter, & wife  
 Margaret Neil  
 Wife and girl of Andrew Niel-  
 son, tavern-keeper  
 George Niefs, shoemaker  
 Benedict Nesmos, son, & daugh.  
 Elizabeth Neman  
 Thomas Nemerfon  
 Timmons Nevil  
 Elizabeth New  
 Anthony Newingham  
 John Newling, a lad  
 Elizabeth Newman  
 Fred. Newman's wife & child  
 Susannah Newman  
 Forbes Newton's wife  
 Margaret Nibley  
 Magnus Nice, oyster-man  
 Martha Nichols, spinster, *Æt.* 70  
 Wm. Nichols, *Æt.* 73  
 Mary Nichols, wife of ditto  
 Wm. Nichols, wheelwright, and  
 wife  
 Thomas Nicholson, joiner  
 John Nick  
 Augustus Niel  
 Jane, daughter of Wm. Niles  
 Elizabeth Noble  
 Catharine Nodler  
 Anthony Noll, ropemaker

- Fred. Noltenius, school-master  
 Cathar. Noriey, wash-woman  
 Joseph Norman's wife  
 Wife of Adam Norris, huckster  
 Abigail North  
 Colonel North's wife  
 Joseph North's child  
 George Norton's child  
 Sarah Norton, servant  
 Sarah Norton, widow  
 Francis Nugne  
 Wm. Nunn  
 Christiana Oatenheimer, Germ.  
 Peter Oatenheimer's wife, Ger.  
 Phil. Oatenheimer's wife, Germ.  
 Daniel Osley, anchor-smith  
 Bridget O'Bryant, Ir.  
 James O'Bryant, carpenter, Ir.  
 Dennis O'Connell  
 John O'Dare  
 John O'Donald  
 Mary O'Donald  
 — O'Dolph, a butcher  
 Charles Ogden's wife  
 Joseph Ogilby's wife  
 Edward O'Hara, clerk  
 Elizabeth O'Hara, housewife  
 Thomas O'Hara, clerk  
 Ann Oiler, Æt. 77  
 Cornelius O'Leary  
 Humphrey O'Leary  
 Henry O'Niel, labourer, Ir.  
 Catharine O'Niel  
 John Onger's wife  
 Edward Orange, blacksmith  
 Michael O'Rourke's wife  
 Robert Orr, Ir.  
 Wife of Nich. Otway, nailor, Ir.  
 John Osborn  
 Wm. Osborn, steward to the  
 President  
 Hannah Osgood  
 Sarah A. Otis  
 Thomas Owner, carpenter  
 George Pack  
 Hannah Packman  
 Wife of John Packworth, shoe-  
 maker, Eng.  
 — Page's child  
 William Paine  
 Jacob Painter, apprentice  
 Charles Palmer, house car-  
 penter, and his two sisters, }  
 viz. Tacy Palmer, and }  
 Rebecca Palmer }
- Aaron Palmer's child  
 Elihu Palmer's wife  
 Hannah, wife of Samuel Palmer  
 Penelope Palmer  
 Samuel Palmer, ship-wright  
 Thomas Palmer, shipwright  
 Thomas Palmer's two children  
 Sarah Palling  
 Martha Pallock  
 William Parham's wife & child  
 Wm. Parham, jun. carpenter  
 John Park  
 Ann Parker, servant  
 George Parker  
 John Parker, shoe-maker  
 John Parker, carpenter, and  
 child, Ir.  
 Joseph Pilmore Parker  
 Mat. Parker, tailor, and wife  
 Wife of Samuel Parker, brass-  
 founder  
 John Parkhill  
 Honora Parkinson  
 Eleanor Parks  
 James Park's wife  
 John Park's brother  
 Mary Parks  
 Wife of Matthias Parks, linen-  
 draper  
 Edward, and Isaac Parrish, jun.  
 sons of Isaac Parrish, hatter  
 John Partkill, whitesmith, Ir.  
 Daniel Parvin  
 Catharine Patch and child  
 John Patch  
 Andrew Patterson, carpenter  
 Edward Patterson  
 Richard Patterson  
 Sarah Patterson  
 Samuel Patterson's child  
 Jas. Pattison, student of physic.  
 Robert Patton, bookbinder  
 George Paul, tailor  
 Peter Paul's son  
 Robert Paul's wife  
 Sydney Paul, widow  
 John Pea  
 James Peale's two children  
 James Pearce  
 John Pearce  
 Jos. Pearson, heelmaker, & wife  
 Widow of Wm. Pearson  
 Sarah Pearce  
 Ann Peckworth  
 Andrew Peddock and daughter

- Joseph Peddrick's son  
 Mary Peiffer  
 Vincent M. Pelosi, merchant  
 Samuel Pemberton and child  
 Doctor John Penington  
 Mary Penington, a child  
 Alexander Penman, coachmaker  
 Mary Penny  
 John Pennycook, apprentice  
 Amos Penquoite  
 Phæbe Penquoite  
 Jenima Penrose, servant  
 Hannah Penton  
 Isaac Penton, farmer, and wife  
 Samuel Penn, baker  
 Joseph Pennel  
 Ann Pepper  
 Mary Pepper, layer out of the  
 dead  
 Foulard Perdue's daughter  
 Mary Perdue  
 Sarah Perkins  
 Mary Perry's child  
 Wm. Perry  
 ——— Perry, shoemaker, Jr.  
 Jac. Peters, baker, & wife Sarah  
 John Peters, ten. biscuit-baker  
 John Peters, junior, tutor  
 Philip Peters, distiller, & wife  
 Ruth Peters  
 Thomas Pew  
 Charlotte Petit  
 Edward Peyton's wife  
 Stephen Peyton's child  
 Son of John Pheiffer, cooper  
 Wm. Phager, tailor  
 Dr. Fred. Phile, naval-officer  
 Jeremiah Philemon, barber  
 Widow Philemon  
 Andrew Philips's child  
 Geo. A. Philips, & son, merchant  
 ——— Philips  
 Mrs. Philips  
 Philip Phile, musician  
 John Physick porter  
 James Pickering, shoemaker  
 James Pickering, tailor  
 James Pickering, store-keeper  
 Son of Timothy Pickering  
 Christian Pierce, cooper  
 James Pierce, coach-maker  
 John Pierce, ship-carpenter,  
 and wife  
 John Pierce's daughter Anne  
 ——— Piercy, potter, and son  
 John Pircy, apprentice  
 Mary Piercy, apprentice  
 ——— Pierre, 2 of the same  
 name, bakers  
 Mary Pierlon  
 Anne Pigot  
 Lewis Pignol, clerk  
 Benjamin Pike, and wife  
 James Pike  
 John Pilliger, cooper  
 Charles Pine, stocking-weaver  
 Eleanor Piper  
 George Piper, tailor, and wife,  
 John Piper, cooper  
 Benjamin Pitfield  
 Anna Plaff  
 Jeremiah Plan  
 John Plankinhorn, labourer  
 Henry Plates, baker, Germ.  
 Jacob Plucker and child  
 Barbara Poagnet  
 Hen. Petterman's sister-in-law  
 Sarah Pollard  
 Catharine Poop, Germ.  
 Mary Poor  
 George Pope  
 Margaret Porkenbine, Eliza.  
 her daughter, and a child  
 Philip Port, labourer  
 Charles Porter  
 John Porter's son and daugh-  
 ter, and two servant girls  
 Rich. Porter, tallow-chandler  
 Thomas Porter, labourer  
 Andrew Pottenstein's wife  
 Mrs. ——— Potter  
 Edmond, son of Edmond Potter  
 Mary Potts  
 Benjamin Poultney, merchant,  
 wife and daughter  
 Elizabeth Pouse  
 Samuel Powel, speaker of the  
 senate, and servant  
 Francis Powers, labourer, Ger.  
 Isaac Powerhou  
 Mr. Prifflet  
 ——— Pragers, merchant  
 Henry Pratt, wife, and child  
 James Pratt's wife  
 Mary Pratt

- John Preal  
 Barbara Preston, Germ.  
 Wife and 3 children of Wm.  
 Preston, brush-maker  
 John Price  
 Teney Price  
 Thomas Price  
 Robert Priestley, whitesmith  
 Susannah Prince, spinster  
 Stephen Prissling  
 Isabella Provolt  
 Joseph Pruett, tailor  
 Thomas Pugh  
 Francis Pugsley  
 John Puracier  
 Mary Purde  
 George Purdy, tailor  
 Wm. Purvis's wife  
 Wm. Pusey's daughter Eliza.  
 Qua, a negro  
 Phillis Quando  
 Catharine Quigley  
 James Quigly, carpenter, and  
 child  
 John Quilman, servant  
 Gascoigne Raby and wife  
 Rachel, a black girl  
 Christian Bach's daughter  
 Geo. C. Rainholdt & daughter  
 John Rain's child  
 George Rainsford  
 Christopher Rakestraw  
 Sarah Rakestraw's child  
 Catharine Ralph's child  
 William Ralston, merchant, and  
 son John  
 Mr. Ralston  
 Thomas Rambaut, carpenter  
 Child of Archibald Randall,  
 ship-carpenter  
 Thomas Randall's child  
 John Randolph, tobacconist  
 Ann Rankin  
 Elizabeth Rankin  
 John Rankin  
 Margaret Rankin  
 Hannah Rapp  
 Eliza Rarich, widow, and daugh-  
 ter Sarah  
 Sarah Razor, Æt. 22  
 John Ratler, porter  
 Elizabeth Rauch  
 Jacob Ravalie, labourer  
 John Reach's widow  
 John Ready  
 Michael Ready  
 Maria Read  
 John Reap, shoemaker  
 Jonathan Reas  
 Jacob Reckther, labourer  
 Sarah Reddick  
 Francis Redman's wife, and a  
 lodger, name unknown  
 Jacob Reece, jun.  
 Mary Reece  
 John Reedle, tailor, and daugh-  
 ter Sarah  
 Casper Reel, baker  
 Edward Reez, joiner  
 Jacob Rees's wife, daughter &  
 son  
 Mr. Reffert's child  
 George Reh  
 Alexander Reid  
 Andrew Reid, bricklayer  
 Ann Reid  
 George Reid and wife  
 Henry Reid, merchant  
 James Reid, silk-dyer  
 James Reid, Æt. 75, and daugh-  
 ter Sarah  
 Margaret Reid  
 Mary Reid  
 Rebecca Reid, widow  
 Samuel Reid's wife  
 William Reid's child  
 John Reidy's child  
 James Reily, servant  
 Maria Reily  
 George Reigner, tobacconist  
 Widow Reigner, his mother  
 George Reily  
 John Reinick, brickmaker  
 John Reinick, baker  
 Lewis Reifele, butcher  
 George Reser  
 Nancy Reiter  
 Jacob Relchner  
 John Reller  
 Joannes Relwicz  
 Afelae Remer  
 Anthony Renard  
 Jane Renny  
 — Renvalt  
 Widow Resle



Christian Reting's child  
 Christian Rettig  
 Ludwig Reuth's wife  
 Adam Revely  
 George Rex  
 Christopher Rexrold, appren-  
 tice

James Reynolds's wife  
 John Reynolds  
 Mary Reynolds  
 Joseph Ribaux's child  
 Catharine Rice  
 George Rice's child  
 John Rice, labourer  
 Lawrence Rice  
 William Rice  
 Charlotte Richards  
 Daniel Richards, lumber-mer-  
 chant

Daniel Richards's son  
 Eliza Richards  
 John Richards  
 Mrs. ——— Richards  
 William Richards, butcher  
 Samuel Richards's wife  
 Steel Richards, shoemaker  
 Barbara Richardson, house-wife

Barnabas Richardson  
 Elizabeth Richardson  
 George Richardson's wife  
 John Richardson  
 Joseph Richardson, jun.  
 Lucy Richardson  
 Rebecca Richardson  
 Thomas Richardson

William Richardson's child  
 George Richner, tobacco-nist  
 Gotlieb Richter, labourer  
 Jacob Richter

George Riddle  
 James Riddle and wife  
 John Ridge, jun.  
 Mary Ridge, milliner  
 John Ridgway  
 Frederic Reib, wheelwright

John Rieb  
 Leonard Riebsher's child  
 Casper Riehl, labourer  
 John Riehl's daughter  
 George Rife's child  
 George Riley, baker

Mary Riley  
 Jacob Rilt, shoemaker  
 John Rilvit, sawyer

Frederic Rine, labourer  
 James Ringland  
 George Rinhard  
 Conrad Rink, shoemaker  
 Elizabeth Riply  
 Mary Riply  
 Alexander Ritchie's wife  
 John Ritchie  
 Mary Ritchie  
 Mr. ——— Rutter's daughter  
 John Roach's wife & 2 children  
 Morris Roach, hostler  
 John Robeau  
 Jacob Roberdeau, printer  
 Robert ———, a sailor

Aaron Roberts  
 Ann Roberts  
 Charles Roberts  
 Mrs. ——— Roberts, house-wife  
 Oliver Roberts  
 Rebecca Roberts

Robert Roberts, late of Merion  
 Thomas Roberts, labourer  
 Thomas Roberts, silversmith  
 William Roberts  
 Joseph Robertson, carpenter  
 Lætitia, daughter of Daniel  
 Robins

Susannah Robins  
 Abraham Robinson  
 James Robinson, carpenter, Jr.  
 James Robinson's child  
 Jane Robinson, widow  
 John Robinson, blacksmith  
 John C. Robinson's servant  
 Joseph Robinson

Judge Robinson's young man  
 Mary Robinson  
 Robert Robinson, shoemaker  
 Sarah Robinson

Thomas Robinson, weaver  
 William Robinson, bricklayer  
 ——— Rochbaud, Fr.

Mary Rock  
 Jacob Rodell  
 Elizabeth Roderfield, widow  
 Philip Roderfield  
 Nicholas Roderwalter's daugh-  
 Sarah Rodman, of R. Island  
 Benjamin Rogers's child  
 Gilbert Rogers, and child  
 John Rogers, corder  
 Margaret Rogers  
 Wife of the rev. Wm. Rogers

- John Rohr's daughter  
 John Roman, currier  
 Elizabeth Roney, servant  
 Magdalen Roone  
 Susannah Roring  
 Hugh Ross, blacksmith, wife,  
 and son  
 John Ross  
 Wm. Ross, shoemaker  
 Mary Rotherwaler  
 Jacob Rix Rott, a lad  
 Rosina Rott, a servant  
 Henry Rouris's daughter  
 Elizabeth Roush  
 James Rowan, store-keeper  
 John Rowe, carpenter  
 John Rowe  
 Barbara Ruber  
 Catherine Ruckhard  
 John Rudolph  
 John Rugan's daughter  
 John Ruger's  
 Frederic Ruhl's son  
 George Ruhl's son  
 John Ruleford, labourer  
 Jacob Rump's child  
 Rosina Runkel  
 Leonard Rush, shoemaker  
 Mary Ruth, widow  
 Wm. Ruth's child  
 Thomas Russel, sailor  
 Leonard Rust, tailor  
 Wm. Rutherford  
 Jacob Rutter  
 Margaret Rutter  
 Samuel Rutter's 2 children  
 Lucy Ryan  
 Mr. ——— Ryan  
 Sabin, Jr.  
 3 Sisters, (names unknown)  
 Abraham Salter  
 Isaac Samms  
 Sampson ———, a negro man  
 Mary Sampson  
 John Sanders, button maker  
 Sarah, a young woman  
 John Sattersfield's wife  
 Elizabeth Saub  
 Frederic Sauber  
 ——— Saubier's wife  
 Robert Saubiers, blacksmith  
 Philip Sauerman, shoemaker,  
 and wife  
 Jacob Sawyer, baker  
 Wife and daughter of dr. Ben-  
 jamin Say  
 Leonard Sayer's wife  
 Matthias Saylor, painter, wife,  
 and sister  
 John Scantling, porter  
 Jonathan Scantling  
 Mary Schaff  
 Adam Schaffer, labourer  
 George Schaffer, cooper  
 Jacob Schaffer  
 Widow Scheiffells  
 Christiana Schieff's girl  
 George Schmidt  
 George Schmidt's child  
 Henry Schmidt, and wife  
 John Schmidt  
 Margaret Schmidt  
 George Schneider, carpenter  
 John Schreier, and wife  
 Frederic Schreiner's daughter  
 John Schreminger  
 Ann Schrider  
 John Schrieck  
 John Schrier, shoemaker, and  
 wife  
 Martin Schrier  
 Thomas Schriever, blacksmith  
 John Schultz, labourer  
 John Schwaab, shoemaker  
 Lawrence Schwaab, shoemaker  
 Adam Schwaadt  
 Captain Schwartz, Denmark  
 Elizabeth Selader  
 Aaron Scott  
 Andrew Scott  
 Ann Scott  
 Benjamin Scott  
 Henry Scott, labourer, & wife  
 John Scott, tailor, and wife  
 Margaret Scott  
 Mary Scott  
 ——— Scott, clerk  
 Joseph Scull  
 Frederick Seaford, joiner  
 Francis Seamore  
 Christo. Search, wheelwright  
 Jacob Sears, blacksmith, and  
 child  
 David Seaven  
 Martin Seebole, school-master

Paulus Seegift, weaver  
 Henry Seen's child  
 Jacob Seger, baker  
 Jacob Seiffer's daughter  
 — Sein's wife  
 Michael Seip, tailor  
 Widow Seitz's daughter  
 James Sekwire  
 Jacob Seller, tailor, and wife  
 Joseph Sellers, watch-maker,  
 Wm. & Susanna, sons & daughter of Wm. Sellers, printer  
 Wife of Henry Semler, shoemaker  
 Jona. D. Sergeant, attorney  
 — Sergeois  
 Francis Serres, stay-maker, Fr.  
 Wife of Benja. Servant, sailor  
 7 Servants, (names unknown)  
 Isabella Service  
 Ann Sewell  
 Catharine Sexton  
 Conrad Seybert's wife  
 Christiana Seyfert  
 Elizabeth Shabby, widow  
 Widow Shaff's child  
 Adam Shaffer, porter  
 Barny Shaffer's child  
 Francis Shaffner's wife  
 John Shakespeare  
 Martha Shakespeare  
 Stephen Shakespeare, weaver  
 Dorothy Shall  
 Bernard Shamo's wife  
 James Shankling  
 Henry Shara  
 Anthony Sharp, tailor  
 John Sharp's child  
 John Sharp, and daughter  
 Nehemiah Sharp, tailor  
 Mr. — Shaeffocker  
 Henry Shaw, and wife  
 Henry Shaw ware-house man  
 Henry Shawster's daughter  
 Henrick Shear, tailor  
 Elizabeth Shearman  
 John Shearwood  
 Daniel Sheegan  
 Henry Sheerer  
 Wm. Sheets, labourer  
 Adam Shellbecker, shoemaker  
 Frederic Sheller, blacksmith  
 Jacob Sheniger

George Shepherd  
 Jacob Shepherd's child  
 Robert Shepherd, shop-keeper  
 Wilhelmina, daughter of Wm. Shepherd  
 John Sherb, baker  
 Elizabeth Sherman  
 Abraham Sheridan's child  
 Wm. Sheridan, & daughter  
 John Sherwood, carpenter, and wife  
 Sallows Shewell's wife  
 Juliana Shewelly, widow  
 James Shillingsford  
 Richard Shilly, hatter  
 Christian Shemblers wife  
 Jacob Shiney  
 Margaret Shingle  
 Amos Shingleton  
 Bernard Shiphar's wife  
 Wm. Shipley, grazier  
 Rebecca Shipping  
 John Shippey, musician, and child  
 Matthias Shiltz's sifter  
 Frederic Shneider, stone-cutter and son  
 Elizabeth Shocker  
 George Shocker, and child  
 Jacob Shocker, labourer  
 Matthias Shocker, & mother  
 Amos Shoemaker  
 Jonathan Shoemaker, cabinet-maker  
 Joseph Shoemaker  
 Mary Shoemaker  
 Michael Shoemaker, livery-stabler  
 Samuel Shoemaker, jun. carpenter, from Cheltingham  
 Henry Sheffield  
 Adam Shordy  
 — Shore, widow  
 Christopher Short  
 Mrs. — Short  
 Matthew Short's child  
 Henry Shreader  
 Martin Shriar  
 John Shriber, butcher  
 Thomas Shriber  
 Henry Shrider, baker & wife  
 Jacob Shrince, comb-maker

- Christopher Shruiner, tutor, and wife Elizabeth  
 Jacob Shruiner,  
 Jacob Shriner, jun. skinner  
 Nicholas Shruiner, skinner  
 Philip Shrite, stocking-weaver  
 Elizabeth Shubart  
 Jacob Shubart, blacksmith  
 Jacob Shubert, labourer  
 Michael Shubart, distiller, son, and daughter  
 Sarah Shubart  
 Widow Shuber  
 John Shute, baker  
 George Sibball's child  
 Baptiste Sicard  
 Sarah Sickel  
 Catharine Sickson  
 Adam Sifert  
 Casper Silver, wheelwright, and wife  
 Joseph Silves  
 Mrs. — Simmonds  
 John Simmonds's child  
 Wife of John Simmonds, tailor  
 John Simpson  
 Mary Simpson, widow  
 Samuel Simpson  
 John Sims  
 Wooddrop Sims, merchant  
 Elizabeth Singer, widow  
 Thomas Singleton's child  
 George Sink's child  
 John Siper  
 Charles Sitz and servant girl  
 Elizabeth Sitz  
 Henry Sketold, apprentice  
 Richard Skelly  
 Rachel Skinner, and daughter Mary  
 David Slack  
 Miss Slack  
 William Slade, store-keeper  
 Abraham Slater, currier, Eng.  
 Gotlieb Slater's child  
 Henrietta Slater  
 Michael Sleefinan's servant-man  
 Frederick Slicker  
 Widow Slint's son  
 Andrew Smith, labourer  
 Ann Smith  
 Barbara Smith  
 Benjamin Smith, merchant, of Burlington  
 Catharine Smith  
 Charles Smith's child  
 Conrad Smith, farmer, Germ.  
 Dr. Smith's wife  
 Elizabeth Smith  
 George Smith, potter, & child  
 Wife of Henry Smith, carpenter  
 Henry Smith, labourer, & wife  
 James L. Smith, factor of cards  
 James Smith, merchant  
 James Smith  
 Jane Smith and child  
 Jesse Smith and child  
 John Smith, sen. merchant, his son John, & daughter Sarah  
 John Smith, chair-maker  
 John Smith, cabinet-maker  
 John Smith, labourer, and child  
 John Smith, shoemaker  
 Lewis Smith  
 Margaret Smith, house-wife  
 Mary Smith  
 Matthew Smith, painter  
 Nathan Smith's son  
 Rebecca Smith  
 Thomas Smith, commissioner of loans  
 Thomas Smith, bricklayer, Jr.  
 Widow Smith  
 William Smith  
 Child of William Smith, sea-captain  
 Charles Smithfield, tutor  
 John Smithson, Jr.  
 George Snellbecker  
 James Snouder  
 Leonard Snouder's mother  
 Anna Maria Snyder  
 Anthony Snyder and son  
 Charles Snyder's wife  
 Christian Snyder, farmer  
 Gulser Snyder  
 Frederic Snyder, sergeant at arms to the senate of Pennsylvania, and his son George  
 George Snyder, baker  
 Philip Snyder, coachmaker  
 Henry Soden  
 Gustavus Soderstrom, sea-captain  
 Ann Solander



John Sommervell, weaver, Ir.  
 John and Isabella Sommervell,  
 children of John Sommervell,  
 cabinet-maker  
 Elizabeth Sooks  
 Philip Sorter  
 Robert Sorter  
 Robert Sowerbee, balcksmith  
 Philip Sowerman and wife  
 John Spalder, plaisterer  
 Widow Spatzen  
 Townsend Speakman, apothecary  
 George Speel's daughter  
 Henry Speel, baker, wife, servant man, and woman  
 Widow Speel  
 Widow Speers  
 Eve Spence, servant  
 George Spigle's wife  
 Charles Spinley  
 Sophia Spitzburgh  
 Sophia Splitzpike  
 Margaret Spotts, Germ.  
 Rev. James Sproat, D. D.  
 Major Sproat and wife  
 Nancy Sproat  
 York Sprogel  
 Andrew Sprowl  
 Margaret Sprowl  
 Hester Squinell, Aet. 82  
 Richard Stack, bricklayer  
 Peter Stackard's wife  
 Benjamin Stackhouse  
 Susannah Stackhouse  
 Thomas Stackhouse  
 Hannah Staggs  
 Joanna, wife of John Stair  
 John Stall, student of medicine  
 Joseph Stanbury's son  
 William Stancape  
 Lucas Stanch  
 James Stanford, shoemaker  
 William Stanker, tailor  
 Margaret, wife of Laurence Stantz  
 George Star and child  
 Rachel, Lydia, and Sarah,  
 daughters of James Starr,  
 shoemaker  
 William Starkley, labourer,  
 wife, and child  
 William Starrat

Frederic William Starrman,  
 merchant, and apprentice  
 William Statton, hatter  
 William St. Clair  
 James Steel  
 John Steel, carpenter, and two  
 children  
 John Steel, tavernkeeper  
 —Steel, cooper, wife, father,  
 and daughter  
 Mary Steel  
 Stephen Steel's child  
 Widow Steel's daughter  
 William Steel, shoemaker  
 Frederic Steelman, tailor, and  
 wife  
 William Stein, clerk  
 James Steiner, storekeeper  
 Nicholas Steiner, labourer  
 Casper Steinmitz  
 John Steinmitz, cooper, and  
 Mary, his mother  
 Peter Stenhyfter, last-maker  
 Andrew Stenton, a child  
 Daniel Stephens, servant, Ir.  
 Fanny Stephens  
 John Stephens, sadler  
 Mrs. Stephens and daughter  
 Ashfield Stephenson  
 James Stephenson  
 John Stephenson  
 Mrs. Stephenson's daughter  
 Catharine Sternkarl, servant,  
 Germ.  
 David Stewart, clerk  
 James Stewart  
 John Stewart's daughter  
 Isaac Stewart  
 Samuel Stewart, tailor  
 William Stewart, bookbinder,  
 Edinburgh  
 Wife of Henry Stiles, merchant  
 William Stiles, jun. merchant  
 William Stiles, sen. stonecutter,  
 wife, and son William, Eng.  
 Isaac Still, tailor  
 Mary Still, servant  
 John Stillas, watchmaker  
 George Stiller, shoemaker  
 John Stillie, watchman  
 John Stillwaggon, hatter  
 Isaac Stine's child

- Captain Sting  
 James Stinton, servant  
 Laurence Stintz's widow  
 William Stirrets, blacksmith  
 George Stocks, hair-dresser and child  
 John Stocks, jun.  
 — Stocker's child  
 Ebenezer Stokes, silver-smith, Eng.  
 Elizabeth Stokes, widow  
 George Stokes and wife  
 James Stokes's son  
 John Stokes, bottler  
 Richard Stokes's child  
 John Stoltz, baker  
 William Stone, merchant  
 Luke Storch  
 Jonathan Stormitz  
 James Stinsen, servant, Ir.  
 Ebenezer Stotts, apprentice  
 Catharine Stouble  
 Peter Stounhouser, servant  
 George Stow, turner  
 Hannah Stow  
 John Stow's widow  
 Peter Stoy's daughter  
 John Stranger  
 Hannah Stratton, a child  
 John Stratton, labourer  
 Peter Streecheiser  
 James Stretcher's wife and child  
 John Stricker, clerk  
 — Stritten, lace-weaver  
 Paul Stromfeltz, mealman, and wife, Germ.  
 Captain Strong's daughter  
 Lætitia Stroud's child  
 William Stroud, plaisterer  
 Child of mr. Strutton, rigger  
 Andrew Stuart's child  
 Adam Stubert, clerk  
 George Stubert, apprentice  
 Hester Stubert, spinster  
 Jacob Stubert, labourer  
 Daniel Stubbs, carter  
 Peter Stuckard, carpenter, wife and child  
 William Stutt, cooper, and wife  
 Martha Stutzer  
 Anthony Suay  
 Christian Sulger, baker  
 David Sullivan, storekeeper  
 Laura Sullivan  
 Catharine Summers  
 Edward Summers  
 Elizabeth Summers  
 — Summers, a young man, from Carolina  
 Francis Summers  
 Peter Summers, wife and three children  
 Jac. Sunnock, labourer, Germ.  
 John Sunnock, trunk-maker and apprentice  
 Simon Sunnock's wife  
 Susannah Supple  
 Charles Surtz, currier, and child  
 John Sutherland, merchant  
 Emon Sutt, keeper of a boarding house  
 Mary Sutton  
 Samuel Swaine  
 William Swaine  
 Mrs. Swaine  
 Laurence Swall's wife  
 Joseph Swanfon's wife  
 John Swanwick, ship-carpenter  
 Margaret Swanwick  
 Christina Swartz, and two children  
 George Swartz, carpenter  
 Peter Swartz's son  
 Ann Sweeny  
 Edward Sweeny, labourer, and child, Ir.  
 John Sweeny's child  
 Morgan Sweeny, wife, and child  
 Jacob Swin  
 Mary Swin  
 Hugh Swine and wife  
 John Swoope  
 Penelope Sword  
 Edward Swardon  
 George Sydes  
 Elizabeth Sykes  
 Mary Sykes, Æt. 15  
 John Syler  
 Casper Sylvius, wheelwright  
 Widow Sylvius  
 Charles Syng, weigh-master and wife  
 Mr. Tacker  
 David Taggart, carpenter

Sarah Taggart	Adam Thompson, a young lad
Thomas Taggart	Elizabeth Thompson
William Taggart	Jacob Thompson's child
Elizabeth Tannenberg, sen.	John Thompson's wife
Elizabeth Tannenberg, jun.	John Thompson, labourer
Sarah Tarcen	Sarah Thompson
Robert Tate, merchant, Scot.	Thomas Thompson's daughter
Joseph Tatem, tailor	Jaue, and son John
Eleanor Taye	Andrew Thomson, blacksmith
Hannah Taye	David Thomson, shoemaker
Abigail Taylor, widow	Wife of James Thomson, inn-
Elizabeth Taylor and child	keeper, at the Indian Queen
George Taylor	Margaret Thomson, Ir.
Isaac Taylor, ironseller, wife	Mary Thomson
and sister Sarah	Peter Thomson, sen. scrivener
Margaret Taylor, servant	Zaccheus Thorn, hatter, and
Richard Taylor's child	wife
Robert Taylor's wife and child	Thomas Thornelly, jun.
Robert Taylor, clerk	Wife of John Thornhill, shoe-
Samuel Taylor, brush-maker,	maker
and his daughter Mary	Jos. Thornhill, house-carpenter
Temperance Taylor	Nicholas Thornman's child
Thomas Taylor	George Thornton, currier
Thomas Taylor's child	Mary Thornton
William Taylor's wife	Jacob Thumb, plumber, and Su-
—— Teeny, a young man	fannah, his daughter
John Teim, hair-dresser	John Thumb's child
A. Teiffler	Jacob Tice
William Teirnan	Paul Tiggitz
Andrew Ten-Eyck	Jacob Till
Helen Terence	Frederick Tillman, tailor
Henry Test, hatter	Dean Timmons, tavern-keeper
John Teteres	William Timmons, apprentice
William Tharp, merchant	Timothy, a black man
John Thatcher's child	Richard Tinker, drayman
Benjamin Thaw, jun.	Richard Tittermary's wife
Maria Thaw	Jacob Titty
Enoch Thomas, bricklayer, and	Elizabeth Titwood
three children	Peter Tobo
Hannah Thomas	Jacob Tobyn's wife
James Thomas, ship-carpenter	John Todd, sen. teacher, and
John Thomas, tailor	wife
John Thomas, clerk	John Todd, jun. attorney at
Lewis Thomas, carter, & wife	law
Margaret Thomas	George Togle, shoemaker
Mary Thomas	Ann Tollman
Richard Thomas, brass-founder	Tom, a negro
and wife	Jacob Tomkins, jun. merchant
Richard Thomas, labourer and	Bartholomew Tool, storekeeper
wife	Charlotte Tool
Robert Thomas's wife	Thomas Topliff, grocer
Zachariah Thomas	—— Tourette, France

- John Town  
 Mary Town  
 Richard Town  
 Henry Townsend, a child  
 Thomas Townsend, Ait. 69  
 Peter Trabar  
 Nancy Tracy  
 Nelly Trades  
 Walter Traquair, stone-cutter  
 Elizabeth Traveller  
 Henry Traveller, blacksmith  
 Frederick Traven, labourer  
 Elizabeth Traverse  
 Martha Tress  
 Michael Trinker's man-servant  
 Fred. Trott's daughter Mary  
 Daniel Trotter's child  
 William Trotter's wife  
 Wm. Truckenmiller, tobacco-nist  
 Richard Truss, joiner  
 Ann Truster  
 Richard Truster  
 Jacob Tryon, tinman  
 Arabella Tudor  
 Major Tudor's two daughters  
 Sarah Tureau  
 Mary Turner  
 Peter Turner  
 William Turner, baker  
 Anthony Turret  
 Elizabeth Tyson  
 William Ubert  
 Jacob Udree, tavern-keeper  
 Christian Uhler  
 Jacob Utree, merchant  
 Henry Unis  
 Peter Uttenberger  
 George Utts, labourer, & wife  
 — Uvis  
 Child of William Valentine  
 Matthew Vandegrift  
 John Vanderslyce's boy  
 Ferdinand Vandigla, shoemaker  
 John Vanduser, blacksmith, &  
 child  
 Adam Vanhorne, tailor  
 Jeremi. Vanhorne, board-mer-  
 chant  
 Mr. ——— Vanier's child  
 Hannah Vanludner  
 Sarah Vanse  
 Wm. Vannemond's child  
 Mr. ——— Vansickle  
 James Vanuxem's child  
 Captain Van Voorhis's child  
 Andrew Vanweller's wife  
 John Vannumell  
 Adam Vass's two children  
 Elizabeth Vass  
 Captain John Vehall  
 Jane Vent  
 Conrad Verglas, tailor  
 John B. Vernies  
 Mary Vessie  
 Laurence Vest's wife  
 John Vertar  
 Peter Vickar  
 Elizabeth Vickerly  
 Letitia Vickey, mantua-maker  
 Phi. Videll, band box-maker,  
 and wife  
 Charlotte Viempft  
 Matthew Viempft  
 Henry Vierheller, sawyer and  
 child  
 Mrs. ——— Villet  
 Christian Villiporey's son  
 Jacob Vinckler's wife  
 Violet, a black girl  
 Frederick Vogel's wife and  
 daughter  
 Gorlieb Vogel's daughter  
 Jacob Volker  
 Catharine Vonweiller  
 Elizabeth Wack  
 Godfrey Wackfel  
 G. Wachsmuth's maid  
 James Waddle  
 Thomas Wade  
 Catharine Wadman  
 William Wager  
 Ann Wagner  
 Christopher Wagner, tailor  
 John Wagner  
 Widow Wagner  
 Peter Wagner's wife, & sister  
 Abraham Waklers, gunsmith,  
 and child  
 Andrew Waldrick's child  
 John Wales, and wife  
 Andrew Walker's son  
 Alexander Walker, and son  
 Edward Walker, merchant, of  
 Birmingham  
 Emanuel Walker, merchant,  
 wife, and son John



James Walker, a child  
 Matthew Walker, clerk  
 Ralph Walker's wife  
 Richard Walker, labourer  
 Robert Walker  
 Samuel Walker's wife Eliza.  
 William Walker  
 William Wall, servant  
 Robert Wallace, jun.  
 John Wallis, hatter  
 Rebecca Wallis  
 Richard Waln's child  
 Aaron Walton  
 Abraham Walton, blacksmith  
 Captain Walters and daughter  
 Catharine Walters, and child  
 Charles Walters, labourer  
 George Walters, wife & daugh.  
 Jacob Walters, a child  
 Jacob Walters's wife  
 Jeremiah Walters, mason  
 Peter Walters, shoemaker  
 Mary Walton  
 Samuel Walton's daugh. Sarah  
 Poblick Calvest Wanesan  
 George War's son  
 Valentine War, chair-maker  
 Jeremiah Ward  
 Benjamin Ware, turner  
 Wm. Waring, mathematician  
 John Warmington  
 Teny Warn  
 Alice, wife of Swen Warner  
 Ephraim Warner, apprentice  
 Hezekiah Warner  
 Jane Warner, widow  
 John Warner, clerk  
 Mary Warner  
 Magdalene Warner  
 Wm. Warnick's wife & child  
 Wm. Warnick, jun.  
 John Warren  
 Isaac Warren, sawyer, wife,  
 and son  
 Wm. Warren, blacksmith, and  
 child  
 Wm. Warren, sailer  
 Michael Wartman  
 Warner Washington, student  
 of medicine  
 Christopher Waffom, watch-  
 man, and child Elizabeth  
 Widow Waffom's daughter

James Watkins, joiner  
 Benjamin Watson  
 Wife, and child, of Charles C.  
 Watson, tailor  
 Elizabeth Watson  
 Mary Watson  
 Robert Watson, labourer, and  
 son  
 Wife of Samuel Watson's cop-  
 persmith  
 Thomas Watter's daughter  
 Ignatius Watteman's wife  
 John Watters's child  
 Wife of Nathan Watters, hatter  
 Beulah Watters  
 Margaret Watts  
 James Watts  
 Henry Wayland, weaver  
 Jane Wayland  
 Henry Wealler  
 Samuel Weatherby, corder, &  
 wife  
 Thomas Weatherby  
 Samuel Weatherby } sons of  
 Joseph Weatherby } ditto  
 Benja. Weatherby }  
 Adam Weaver, brick-maker  
 Andrew Weaver, tailor  
 George Weaver, and daughter  
 Jacob Weaver, and 2 childreu  
 Wife of John Weaver, painter  
 Nathaniel Weaver  
 Widow Weaver, and child  
 Eleanor Webb  
 Elizabeth Webb, widow  
 Simon Webb, whitesmith  
 Solomon Webb  
 Pelatiah Webster's wife  
 Elijah Weed, and daughter  
 Edward Weir, book-binder  
 Charles Weifs  
 George Weifs, tailor  
 Lewis Weifs's son  
 John Weifman, blacksmith  
 J. Weifman, chocolate-maker  
 Philip Weifman, ditto  
 Catharine Weifman  
 John Wells, and wife  
 Henry Welch's child  
 James Welch, servant  
 John Welch's child  
 Mary Welsh  
 Michael Welsh, labourer, Jr.

Miles Welsh's daughter  
 Peter Welsh  
 Richard Welsh  
 Samuel Welsh  
 Thomas Welsh, tailor, wife and child  
 Thomas Welsh  
 George West, house-carpenter  
 John West, chair-maker  
 John West, apprentice  
 Lydia West  
 Margaret West  
 William West, bookbinder  
 William West's wife and son  
 Henry Westler, hair-dresser, and two children  
 Adam Wetherstein, butcher  
 John Wetherstein, skin-dresser  
 George Weybel, baker, and wife  
 George Weyman and child  
 Aaron Wharton, tallowchandler  
 John Wharton  
 Mary Wharton  
 Peregrine Wharton, h. carpenter  
 Nathan Wheeler and wife  
 Elizabeth Wheel  
 Robert Wily  
 Edward White, labourer  
 Hugh White  
 Jacob White, apprentice  
 James White  
 James White's wife  
 John White  
 Maria White  
 Martha White  
 Matthew White  
 Solomon White's daughter  
 Charles Whitebread's child  
 James Whitehall's wife Mary  
 Joseph Whitehead, clerk, and child, Eng.  
 Daniel Whitely's child  
 Caspar Whiteman  
 Catharine Whiteman  
 Jane Whiteoak, *Æt.* 65  
 Hannah Whitesides  
 Wm. Whitesides, tea-merchant  
 John Whitman  
 Laurence Whitman's child  
 George Wibble, baker, and wife  
 Jacob Wickers, ferryman  
 Abigail Wickham's child

Jeremiah Wieser, drayman  
 Michael Widner, tailor  
 George Wier  
 John Wigden, school-master, wife and child  
 Samuel Wigford, hatter  
 Ann Wight  
 William Wild  
 Abel Wiley's wife  
 John Wiley, shoemaker, & sister  
 Ann Wiley  
 John Wilkins  
 Mary Wilkins  
 James Wilkinson, Jr.  
 Roderick Wilkinson  
 Catharine Will, servant  
 Charles Williams, grazier  
 Elizabeth Williams  
 James Williams, tailor  
 John Williams and wife  
 John Williams's child  
 John Williams, coachman  
 Mary, widow of Jos. Williams  
 Thomas Williams, mariner  
 Widow Williams  
 Jeremiah Williamson, sailor  
 Margaret Williamson  
 Violet Williamson  
 Mary Willing  
 Hugh Wills  
 Ann Wilson  
 Charles Wilson, clerk  
 Elizabeth Wilson  
 James Wilson, ferryman  
 James Wilson  
 Jenny Wilson  
 John Wilson, h. carpenter  
 John Wilson, sailor  
 John Wilson, wheelwright  
 John Wilson, bricklayer  
 Capt. John Wilson  
 Joseph Wilson's child  
 McCalla Wilson  
 Mrs. Wilson, school-mistress  
 Richard Wilson, shoemaker  
 Roderic Wilson, sailor  
 Wife of Wm. Wilson, stationer  
 William Wilson's child  
 William Wilson, sailor  
 Dorothy Wiltberger  
 Wife and child of Alexander Windsey, sailor



Rev. John Winkhaufe & child	Richard Wright's daughter
John Ludwig Winkler, labourer	Catharine Wrightner
Mary Winkler	Sarah Wrinkle
— Winne, coachmaker	Henry Wurftler, hair-dresser,
Child of Jac. Winnemore, grocer	and child
Frederick Winter, sailor	Widow Wurftler and child
Wife of Jacob Winter, ship-	Widow Wyand's child
carpenter	Child of Wm. Wyat, labourer
Margaret Winter	George Wyner, shoemaker,
Alexander Winthrop's wife	and two children
Daniel Wise, tailor	Thomas Wyner
Hannah, wife of Thos. Wise	William Wynn
Widow Wiseman	John Yates, servant
Benjamin Wistar	Mary Yates, widow
John Witman	Catharine Yeiger
Peter Wittels's son	Margaret Yeoman
Christopher Woelpert's daugh-	George Yopes, apprentice
ter	Michael Yopes, ditto
Elizabeth Wolf, widow	Nelly Yorks
Mary Wolf	Phebe York
Elizabeth Wollard, servant	John Youch, grocer
Andrew Wood, currier	Catharine Young
Catharine Wood	Elizabeth Young
Cornelius Wood's wife	George Young's daughter
Elizabeth Wood	Jacob Young's son
Francis Wood's child	Daughter and son-in-law of Ja-
G. Wood's daughter Rebecca	cob Young, tailor
John Wood, watch-maker	Jacob Young, shoemaker
John Wood, coach-man	James Young and apprentice
Jona. Wood, carter, and wife	Margaret Young
Isaac Wood's child	Mary Young
Leighton Wood's wife	Michael Young and wife
Mary Wood	Nich. Young, labourer, & wife
Thomas Wood, shoemaker	Plumber Young
William Wood	Agnes, wife of William Young,
Washington, son of William	printer
Woodhouse, printer	William Young, apprentice
Joseph Woodman	Christopher Youst's wife
Margaret Woodward	Rebecca Youst
Christian Wool, tailor	Andrew Ysenhood's 2 children
James Worstall, store-keeper	Jane Zagey
Hannah Wrap	Wm. Zane's wife
Jacob Wright, chairmaker	Mary Zentler
Jane Wright	John George Zeyfinger, prin-
Joseph Wright, painter, and	ter
wife	Wm. Zill
Mary Ann Wright	Tobias Ziak's wife
Sufannah Wright	Philip Zwoller

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